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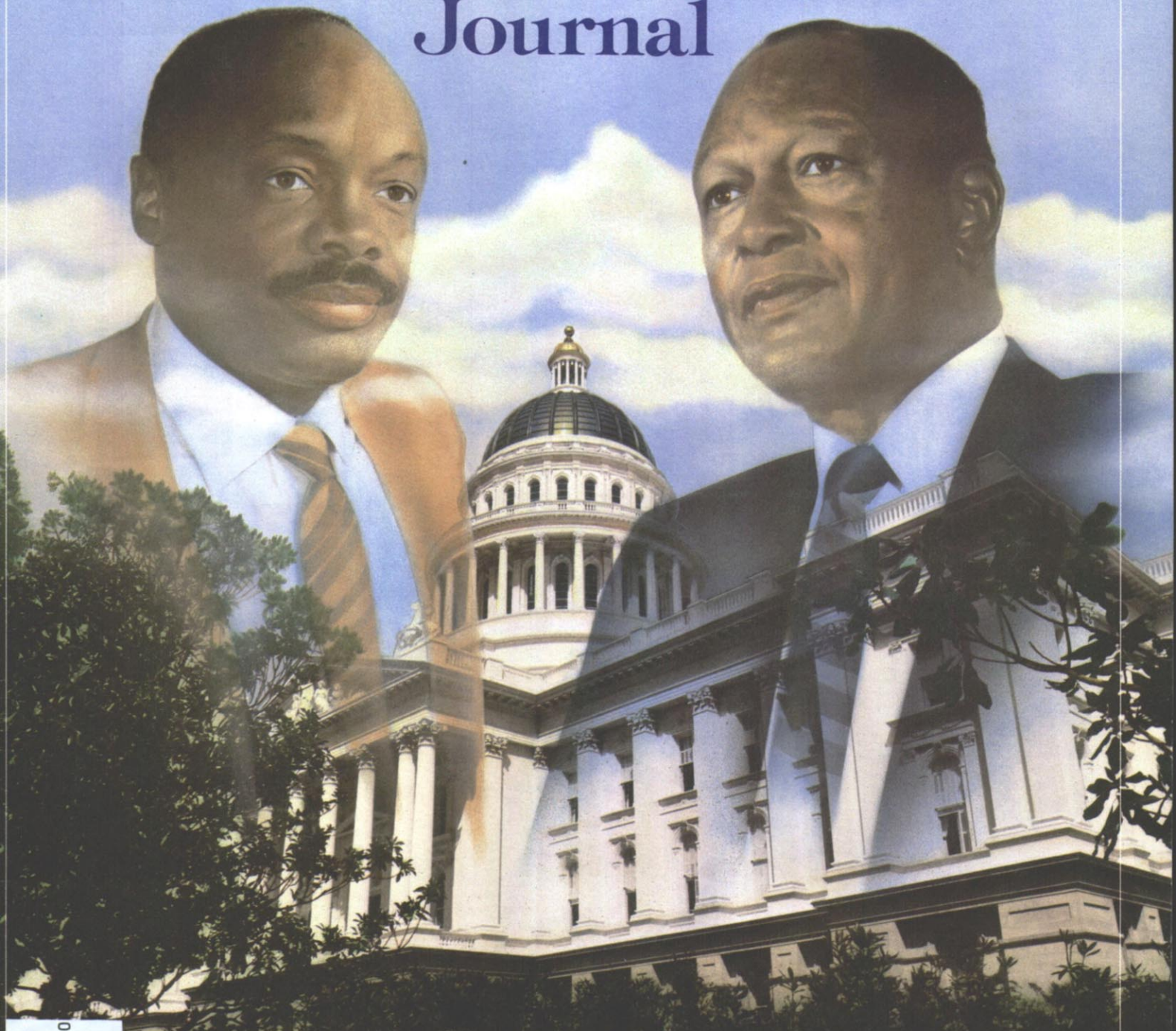

IS BLACK POLITICAL POWER FADING?

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"Le Lotto" by Charles Chaplin (1825-1891). German lotto pieces of 1850. Bavarian National Museum, Munich.

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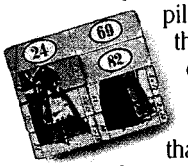

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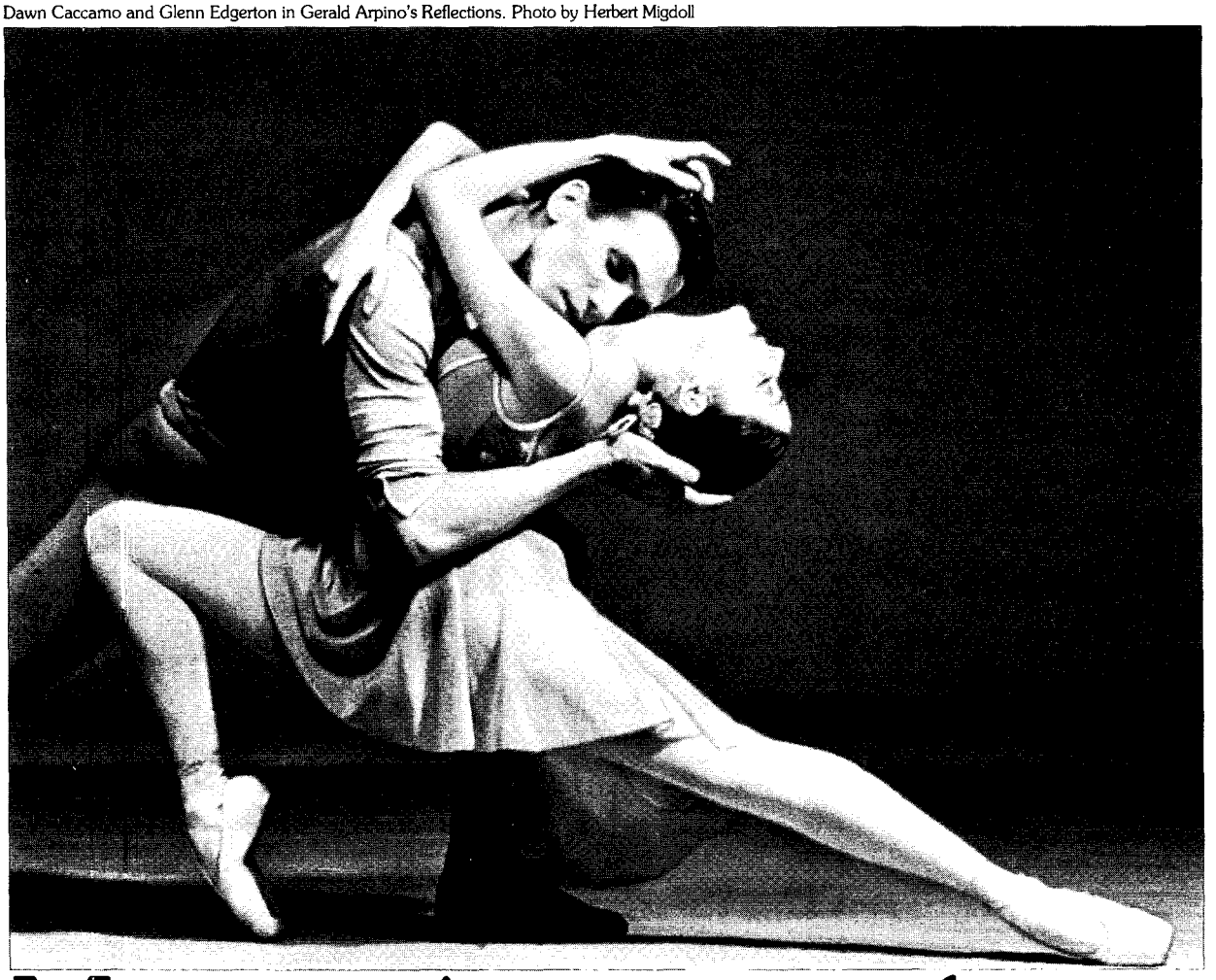
Dawn Caccamo and Glenn Edgerton in Gerald Arpino's Reflections. Photo by Herbert Migdoll



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CALIFORNIA Journal

VOLUME XVIII, NUMBER 5 MAY 1987

Black political power 232

As Asians and Latinos gain political strength through increased numbers, will Black political power begin to fade in California?

By Herbert A. Sample

Future Black leaders 236

The next decade may see the departure from politics of Black leaders like Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley and Assembly Speaker Willie Brown. Who will emerge to replace them?

By Herbert A. Sample

Black Republicans 241

Yes, Virginia, there are Black Republicans. Not many, but they say their numbers will grow.

By Herbert A. Sample

The speakership 243

Can a modern Assembly speaker push a meaningful legislative agenda and still hold on to power?

By Sherry Bebitch Jeffe

Moving primaries 248

Some observers think California's June presidential primary matters little because it comes too late in the process. They want it moved to March or April.

By Jeff Raimundo

John Vasconcellos 250

In the past year, Assembly Ways and Means chairman John Vasconcellos has survived satire from "Doonesbury" and heart surgery. But his long-sought Commission on Self Esteem has become a reality.

By James Richardson

Ambush in the 33rd District 255

A funny thing happened to Republicans in what was supposed to be an easy victory in the 33rd Senate District.

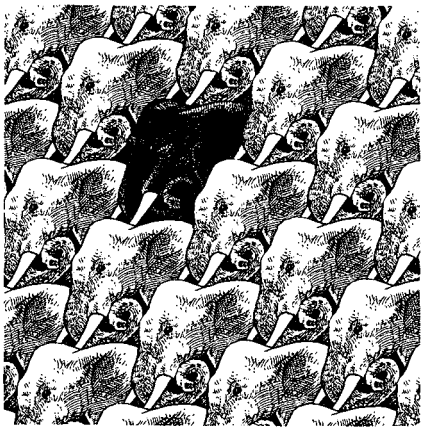
By Larry Peterson

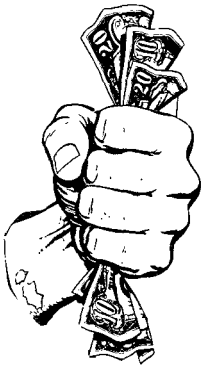
The Rose Institute 259

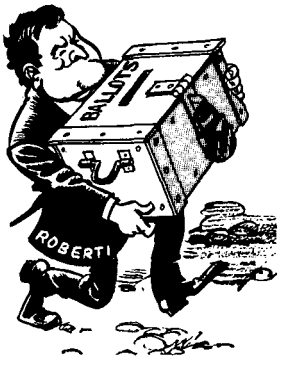
A Southern California think tank is trying to shake its conservative image.

By Dan Smith

Up Front	229
Rostrum	230
Washington Perspective	262







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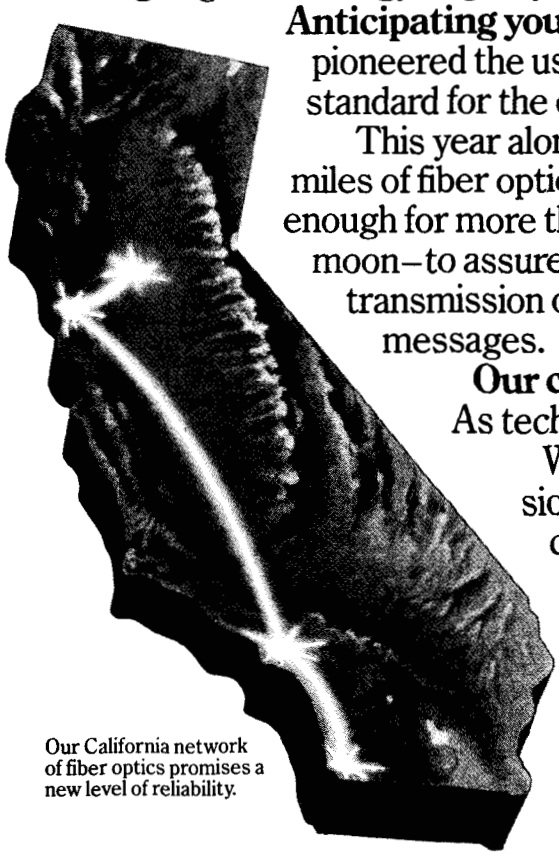

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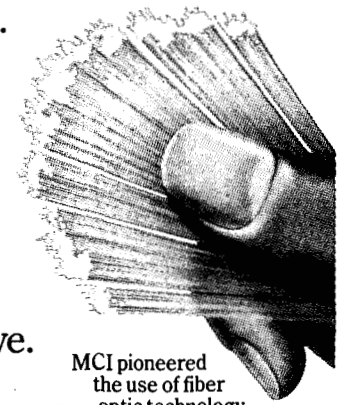

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UP FRONT

Next: the three-cent nickel. The California Grocers Association has taken a cue from the late Groucho Marx. Groucho once suggested that the country needed a three-cent nickel. "Think of it," he mused. "You buy a five-cent cigar, pay with a nickel and get two cents change. One nickel, carefully used, could last a family a lifetime." Now, the CGA has suggested the 15.5-ounce pound and has corraled Democratic Assemblyman Rusty Areias of Los Banos to carry a bill legalizing the change (AB2513). If passed, Areias' dart would allow retailers to sell a steak that weighed 3 percent less than its labeled weight. The difference could cost Californians up to $500 million a year. But the CGA insists it needs the change to compensate for evaporation that occurs after goods are packed. Currently, retailers are randomly inspected to ensure that the labeled weight accurately reflects the actual weight of a product. When it falls short, a market or packer can be prosecuted and fined. The CGA complains that some counties are harrassing markets and wants the problem solved with Areias' bill. But according to a spokesman for the state Department of Measurement Standards, only about six of the state's 20,000 markets are prosecuted each year. So, what's the big fuss? Let grocers have a 15.5-ounce pound, and consumers can pay for it with a three-cent nickel.

Rise of the B Team. Governor George Deukmejian last month fled Sacramento for his second out-of-the-country trip, this time for Europe where he was to open the state's second foreign office — this one in London. It was only last year when Seattle was a foreign port for this governor. The long flights must have given the governor plenty of time to ponder the staff changes in his administration over the past few months. First, there was the departure of press secretary Larry Thomas (replaced by Kevin Brett and new public affairs advisor Jim Robinson), followed closely by Rod Blonien, who was the Duke's first legislative affairs secretary and later his troubleshooter for prisons, and, most important, chief of staff and alter ego Steve Merksamer (replaced by legislative secretary Michael Frost). During his first term, Deukmejian had lost Michael Franchetti, Doug Watts and Sal Russo. The latest round of departures deprives Deukmejian of nearly all the advisors who were with him when he first became governor. Merksamer, who will go into private law practice, will be particularly missed. "I don't know how you can get much tighter without marrying," said Watts of Merksamer's relationship with Deukmejian.

Potomac fever? With a glint in his eye and an impish grin on his face, our governor announced last month that while he would not be a favorite-son candidate for president (after discovering most Republicans wanted to pick their own favorite, thank you) he would set up an independent political committee, the Committee for Common Sense, to promote the governor's policies here in the state, and to advise him about state and national issues. National issues? Our own backyard-barbequing chief executive, the man whose idea of a good time is a tub of jamoca almond fudge, is suddenly interested in national issues? Well, I guess no occupant of the Capitol's corner office is immune, even if the Duke's resistance has been better than his two immediate predecessors'.

Pop quiz. What other semi-famous George has used the "common sense" name for his committee? It was George McGovern who founded Americans for Common Sense back in 1972. We know how far the slogan got him. But his definition of common sense was quite a bit different than our George's.

Howwww expensive was it? Last November's Cranston-Zscahu donnybrook for the U.S. Senate was so expensive that the $22,355,942 spent by both sides would pay the annual salary of each member of the 45-member California congressional delegation for five-and-one-half years. Needless to say, Cranston-Zschau cost more than any other race in the country, outpacing number two (Hawkins-Graham in Florida) by nearly $10 million.

(Alan Friedenthal, Washington, D.C.)

Thursday at the zoo. Perhaps the premise was bonkers to begin with: a televised debate among 14 candidates for the late Sala Burton's congressional seat in San Francisco. Whatever the reason, the hour-long show, broadcast over public television only days before the April 7th special election, turned into an exercise in chaos. The Peace and Freedom candidate was hauled off the set by a security guard, a Lyndon LaRouche Democrat suggested he was a buddy of the pope and a Republican called for bombing both Nicaragua and the Ayatollah Khomeini. According to the *San Francisco Chronicle*, one viewer thought the telecast was "better than any Monty Python I've ever seen."

John Cleese aside, the debate didn't seem to alter the primary outcome. Frontrunner Nancy Pelosi easily captured the Democratic nomination, all but assuring her of victory in the June 2nd run-off election.

No, we didn't announce a breakthrough in physics last month in a story on the proposed Superconductor Super Collider (see "Can California compete?", *CJ*, April 1987). The article indicated that the SSC would hurl atoms around a 52-mile loop at speeds "faster than the speed of light." Actually, the atoms will travel at "almost the speed of light."

Come across a blurb lately that's nosy, newsy or smart-alecky about California government, politics or politicians? Share it with the Journal. *We pay up to $25 for entertaining tidbits published in "Up Front." so rush your items to Up Front, 1714 Capitol Avenue, Sacramento, CA 95814. Sorry, submissions cannot be returned.*

"It's not easy to do noble things without the proper equipment."

— Aristotle

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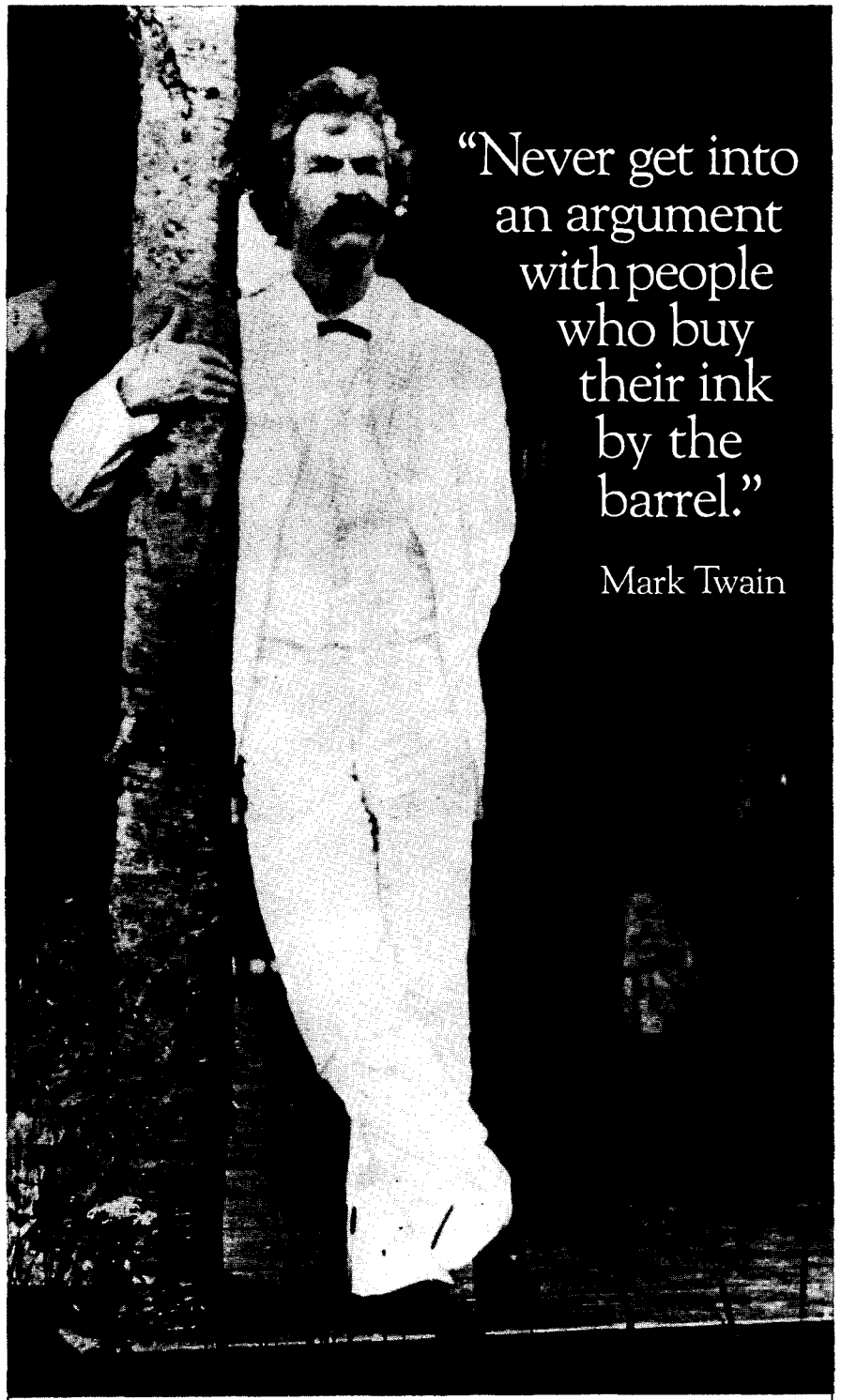

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Campaign contributions

The 1987 edition of your "California Political Action Handbook," (*CJ*, 1987) is a succinct, helpful guide for the citizen advocate. However, I would like to dispel two common myths: that buying "access" to politicians with campaign contributions is legal; and that the influence of one narrow economic interest balances another, yielding good public policy.

Concerning access, it may be true that legislators tend to "look with favor upon those individuals and organizations that help with hard cash in the reelection process." But it must be emphasized that using campaign contributions even for indirect influence is illegal. According to U.S. Court of Appeals Justice John T. Noonan, "The access buyer is paying not only for attention but for favorable attention." He asserts that "access payments of this sort are bribes."

The handbook's suggestion that "ordinary citizens also can obtain a piece of the action with relatively small contributions" should be taken with the above in mind. By the way, the penalty for bribery, if and when prosecutors begin to enforce the laws, is a two-to-four-year prison term for each count.

Second, the assertion that "unrestrained abuse" of the legislative process is curbed by "the factor of competition among interest groups" was proved wrong in an article on the interstate banking compromise (*CJ*, February 1987). The eastern banks got what they wanted, the big California banks got what they wanted, and the public (and many smaller financial institutions) got virtually nothing.

Occasionally, businesses which have purchased legislative clout will join with public-interest groups on a particular issue. More often than not, however, the public fights alone and loses to the big donors. The prevalence of campaign contributions as a "legislative tactic" is real, but that reality damages public policy and destroys the public's trust in government. The only way citizens can stem the purchase of power by narrow economic interests is through reform of the campaign-financing system.

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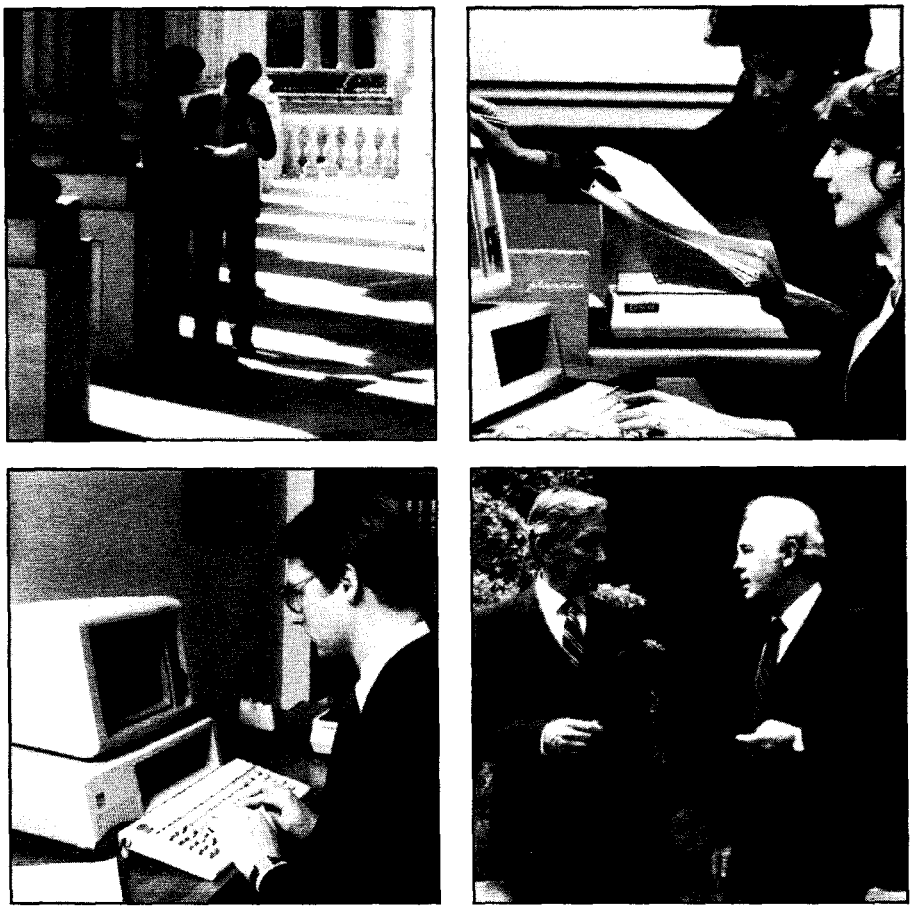

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BLACK POLITICAL POWER

As Asian and Latino popula political power fade?

By Herbert A. Sample

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s expand, will Black

Where to, Black politics? It is a question being asked across California as Blacks ponder the degree of political involvement and organization in their communities, the quality of their current representatives, and the effect the swelling Asian and Latino communities will have on their political power.

The question takes on added significance as the two men who have dominated the Black political scene for the past decade — Assembly Speaker Willie Brown of San Francisco and Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley — edge nearer to the close of their careers.

"It is time for Black folks to pay attention to Black politics because we're in serious need of reassessing and reevaluating where we go," said Assemblywoman Gwen Moore, a Los Angeles Democrat.

"The day is going to come soon when there is not a Black as mayor of Los Angeles," said Larry Irvin, a Black who owns a Los Angeles political consulting firm. "That means we have to prepare."

There is little time to wait. Having been supplanted by Asians in 1983, no longer are Blacks the second largest minority group in California in terms of sheer numbers, according to state Department of Finance statistics. (Latinos have been the largest minority group for at least a generation.) Projections show that the Latino and Asian populations will continue to grow at tremendous levels while growth rates of Blacks and whites have largely stabilized.

Arguably, Blacks still hold more political power than either Latinos or Asians. But that too is changing — at a faster and faster pace. For instance, two years ago there were no Latino or Asian members sitting on the Los Angeles City Council. Blacks held three of the council's 15 seats. Now, there are two Latinos — former Assembly members Richard Alatorre and Gloria Molina — and an Asian, Michael Woo. Two of the three Black councilmen are still there. The third, David Cunningham, resigned last year and a runoff election for his seat between two Black candidates is set for early June.

"We do not have a monopoly any more on the 'minority position,' said Peter W. Dauterive, the retired president and chief executive officer of Los Angeles-based Founders Savings and Loan. "Mexican-Americans have raised their voices and have been heard, and the Asian-Americans have done likewise."

It is a startling contrast. Latinos and Asians continue to grow in numbers and political strength, learning the same lessons Blacks did years ago but avoiding many of the pitfalls. Meanwhile, Blacks commiserate about the situation around them but to some seem unable to take positive steps to improve their own community's position.

Continued on next page

Herbert A. Sample is a Capitol correspondent for the Sacramento Bee.

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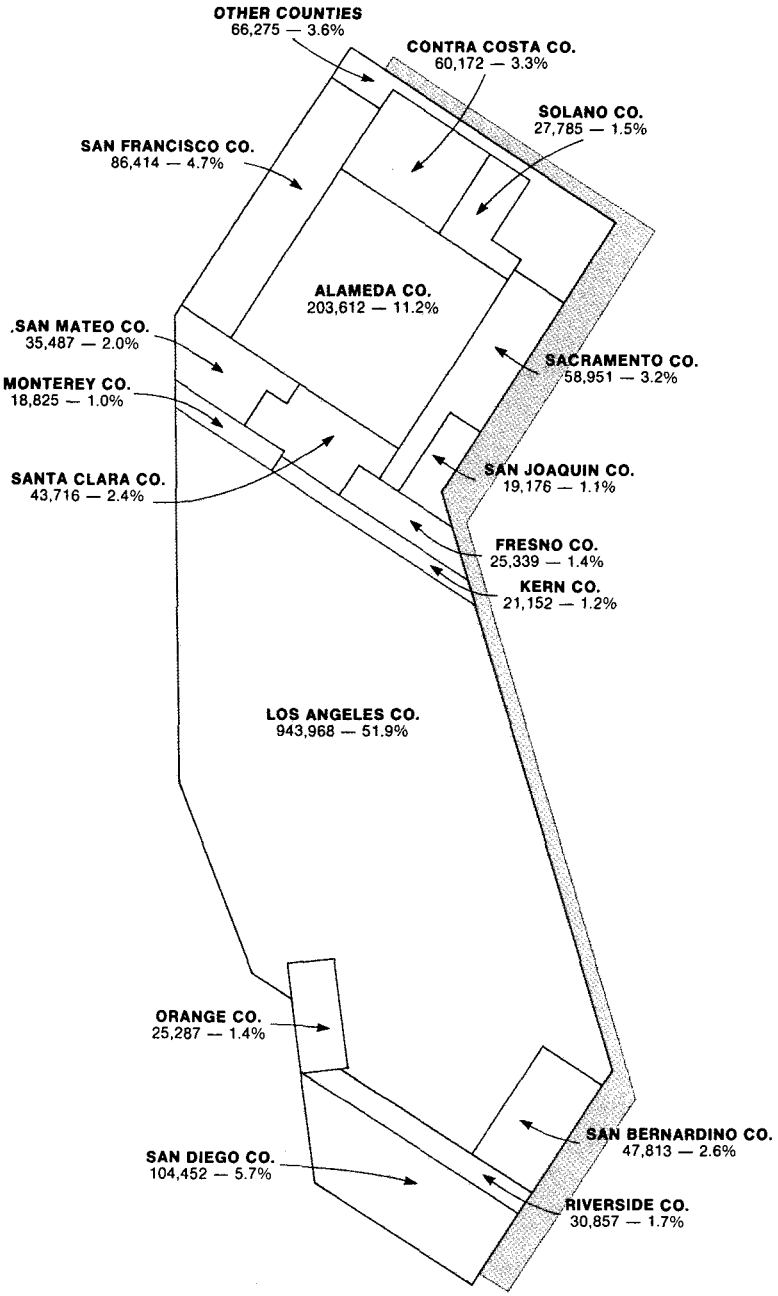

Distribution of the state's Black population, by county

California counties are shown proportional to the percentage of the state's Black population that lives within them. The 16 counties with over 1 percent of the state's Blacks each are indicated; the remaining 3.6 percent of the state's Black population reside in the remaining 42 counties, as indicated at the top of the map. Source: 1980 population census, U.S. Bureau of the Census.

"They (Asians and Latinos) are where we were in the '60s. They see fruit on the tree, but they see our mistakes, too, and are not making them," said Inglewood Councilman Daniel K. Tabor. "We are caught standing around, trying to figure out why this is happening" rather than developing answers on how to recapture the initiative.

The pressures brought to bear by increasingly sophisticated Latinos and Asians are not the only concerns of the Black community in terms of politics, however. There is also an increasing dissatisfaction among some young Black professionals who believe that some long-time Black officeholders have stagnated and no longer are adequately representing the goals and seeking new solutions to the problems of the Black community. "There are some (Black elected officials) who have been on sabbatical, and I can't wait for them to re-enroll," said Kermin Maddox, 32, a top political aide to Bradley.

Others point out that the Black community must begin to organize itself to a degree not seen since the civil-rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Efforts have been made in the past but have failed to gather any steam, they acknowledge.

Some say that Blacks must do away with the notion they can only win in areas that have large Black communities, and that Blacks should begin to expand what existing political coalitions they have with Asians and Latinos. Others believe that Blacks should lead class-based coalitions that include all races, as Democratic presidential hopeful Jesse Jackson has tried to do on a national scale with his "Rainbow Coalition."

Furthermore, many Blacks who are eligible to vote, like many members of other ethnic groups, seem disinterested in politics — turned off and tuned out. Only the result is more debilitating to the quest for more political power held by Blacks and other minorities. For example, one of the major reasons for last November's defeat of Edward Waters, Democratic candidate in the 54th Assembly District, was the low turnout of voters in Compton and other predominantly Black areas. Had Waters won, he would have been the first new Black to be elected to the Legislature in eight years.

"I think that, certainly, some complacency has set in," said Assemblyman Elihu Harris, a Black Democrat from Oakland. "A lot of people in the Black community think that the struggle for justice and equality ended with the civil-rights movement and the passage of the civil-rights laws."

This is not to say that Black politics is in danger of collapsing. On the contrary, Blacks have made and continue to make considerable electoral gains. Seven years ago, Blacks held about 200 elective offices around the state. Now there are about 287 Black elected officials, more than a third of them on school boards. In addition, there are eight Blacks in the Legislature and seven Black county supervisors.

Black politicians also hold powerful positions. Willie Brown, a Democrat, will likely break the record for the longest tenure as Assembly speaker next year. From all indications, he is at the peak of his power in the Legislature and he predicts he will be a major player in state politics for 30 more years. Bradley is at the mid-point of his fourth term as Los Angeles mayor and has announced plans to campaign for an unprecedented fifth term.

Bradley declined to be interviewed on this subject. He has long shied away from the subject of Black politics, saying he is not a "Black politician" but rather is a "politician who happens to be Black."

Blacks also hold important committee chairmanships in the Legislature. In the Assembly, Maxine Waters heads the Ways and Means subcommittee on state administration; Elihu Harris, Judiciary; Gwen Moore, Utilities and Commerce; Teresa Hughes, Education; and Curtis Tucker, Health. In the Senate, Diane Watson chairs Health and Human Services and Bill Greene, Industrial Relations.

And Blacks hold a wide array of seats. At the southern tip of the state, Leon Williams is in his second four-year term as a member of the San Diego County Board of Supervisors. Richard Patterson last year won reelection to the

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Modesto City Council and garnered the highest number of votes of any candidate in the at-large election. In Lake County, Voris Brumfield is in her third year on the board of supervisors. She has the distinction of being the highest-ranking, elected Black Republican officeholder in the state. One hundred-fifty miles away, in Siskiyou County, Charles Byrd pins on his badge knowing he is the first Black ever to be elected sheriff in California. He won last November.

Black Republicans are also upbeat. Despite being the object of scorn by some in the Black community, many feel their ranks are increasing slowly but surely, mostly by an influx of young Black professionals — known as BUPPIES, for Black Urban Professionals — who are disillusioned with Democrats (see following story).

"They're all closet Republicans," said Richard Douglas, 38, a Black who is a former Reagan administration official in the Department of Agriculture and now a vice president with Sun-Diamond Growers. "You get them behind closed doors and they sound just like (California Governor) George Deukmejian and Ronald Reagan in terms of how this country should be run and (on) taxes and spending."

As California nears the next decennial reapportionment, Black political leaders — especially those in Southern California — are realizing that, in the years to come, they may have to share their political power with other minority groups.

There is no doubt that if present trends continue, Latinos and Asians will become a considerable political force in California. This year, out of 26.8 million people living in the state, 61.3 percent are white, 22 percent are Latino, 9 percent are Asian or members of other non-Black ethnic groups, and 7.6 percent are Black, the state Finance Department estimates.

Three years from now, as federal government census personnel circulate throughout the state, forecasts show that whites will drop to 59.3 percent of the population; Latinos will increase to 23.2 percent; Asians and non-Black minorities to 9.8 percent, and Blacks, 7.7 percent. By the year 2000, the white population is expected to decrease to 53.6 percent, Latinos will have risen to 26.56 percent; Asians to 11.8 percent, and Blacks, 7.9 percent.

According to 1980 census figures, about 45 percent of the state's Latinos live in Los Angeles County, which has more than half of the state's Black population. So nowhere in California are the ethnic-political dynamics between Blacks and other minorities more in focus than in Los Angeles.

In Los Angeles' Black community, there is concern that after the 1991 reapportionment a well-organized, registered and motivated Latino populace could topple a pair of current Black officeholders, including 22-year Los Angeles Councilman Gilbert Lindsay and Assemblywoman Teresa Hughes.

As of the 1980 census, Lindsay's 9th Council District was 51.1 percent Black and 37.4 percent Latino, according to figures provided by the city. Current statistics were not available, but from all accounts, Latinos have made sizable gains there in the last seven years.

An aide to Hughes said her district was about 21.8 percent Latino and 39.9 percent Black, according to 1984 statistics. But, as in Lindsay's district, indications are that Latino numbers have increased substantially there as well.

"Just looking at my district alone, and I share some of Mr. Lindsay's district, I see the large influx of Hispanics into our community," said Hughes, a Black whose district takes in Cudahy, Bell, and Huntington Park, as well as central Los Angeles. "I don't know where the Blacks are going. I really don't....I don't think they are really going anywhere. I think they're just being outnumbered by the number of Hispanics moving into our community. And if these people were registered to vote, they could very well, perhaps, replace Mr. Lindsay and myself."

Such an event would surely startle many in the Black community. "There is a perception out there that if it's a seat that's been held by a Black, it will always be....It has not always been that way and does not necessarily have to be that way" in the future, said Assemblywoman Moore, whose district neighbors Hughes' district to the west.

Glenn C. Loury, a professor of political economy at Harvard University, summed up many anxieties at a panel discussion published recently by *Harper's* magazine: "To put it crudely, there are some new kids on the block who are kicking ass — who are in the game, who are playing the game, who are getting ahead. And their success threatens us...."

But would the reality of a Latino or Asian winning a council or legislative district that traditionally was thought of as a "Black seat" necessarily threaten the Black community? Generally no, said most.

"If (Blacks) can't expand (their) number of seats, then obviously, in terms of fairness, we have to be willing to extend opportunities to other individuals," said Assemblyman Harris. "So, yeah, there may certainly be a loss in Black seats. There may be gains in Hispanic seats. There may be losses in white seats as well....If we have a Hispanic representing a number of Black people, and he's sensitive to their concerns and is in touch with those people, then there's not a loss in power and there certainly is not a loss in quality representation. And that should be the bottom line in any event."

"It wouldn't be a negative to me," said Alice Huffman, state chairwoman of the Black American Political Association of California (BAPAC). "We can't get caught up in the 'crab mentality,' holding each other back....I would see it as a positive as long as minorities are still moving forward."

Some, though, believe many Black officeholders are doing little to sound the warning horn to their Black constituents, telling them that unless they organize and get more involved, other minorities will seize the political initiative and with it a good deal of power.

And there is no general call to build stronger political ties with Latinos and Asians as well, some say, in order for Blacks to expand their numbers outside of majority-Black areas. "The great failure...is a failure to lead us to coalition politics," said Melanie Lomax, an attorney with the Los Angeles office of People United to Save Humanity (PUSH), a community group.

But what sort of coalition? Some say that Black political leaders should advocate coalitions along racial lines, an alliance forged with Latinos, Asians and other minorities that recognizes the common histories, frustrations and aspirations of each group.

But others say another approach is required, one that recognizes the growing gap between upper-middle-class families and the poor and working poor in all communities. Therefore, they contend, working class people of all races must coalesce, and Blacks have the best opportunity to lead that effort.

"Our future lies in our ability to identify ourselves, as we always have, by the way, with working people and convincing working people — Blacks, Chicanos, Asians-Pacific Islanders and whites — that we represent their interests as working people better than anybody else," said Sacramento

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County Supervisor Grantland Johnson, a Black who won election to his current post last November.

Johnson, citing the example of his own city council and supervisorial campaigns, said he stressed the disparity in the quality and quantity of city and county services that working class neighborhoods — white, Black, Latino or Asian — receive in comparison with those services provided more affluent areas.

Johnson won with this strategy in a supervisorial district that is only 8 percent Black and 11 percent Latino. He earlier won a council campaign in a district that was only 20.8 percent Black. The victory came despite opposition from local Democratic Party powers who, Johnson said, claimed he could not convince "white redneck" voters to elect a Black man.

"One thing the Democratic Party does is buy into a very racist logic," Johnson said. "They are defining limitations for Blacks and Chicanos off the top....They want to maintain us and relegate us (to particular areas) on the basis of bowing to perceived racist attitudes in the community."

"We said white Democrats, working class Democrats, can go beyond race and deal with the question of competency and class interest in order to vote for me. And that's what happened," Johnson said.

Voris Brumfield, the Lake County supervisor, also appealed to voters on the basis of issues since in her county Blacks make up less than 1 percent of the population.

"You don't relate to the color of somebody's skin," she said. "I relate to the issues that make government viable to them or the issues that make government non-viable to them. That is what makes the issues transcend race....People respond to your honest caring about them and your honest efforts to help them."

As the debate on coalitions continues, another phe-

Five for

There are five up-and-coming politicians who are most likely to inherit the mantle of political leadership in the Black community, according to an informal survey of Black political consultants, officeholders, community activists and others.

Beyond those five, there are several other Blacks who also could make their presence known in coming years as the current political leadership in the Black community steps down.

At the same time, there is grumbling from some Blacks who feel that some current Black officeholders are not teaching younger Blacks the tricks of the trade — the skills required to attain political office and to expand a base of support once there.

"You don't see much mentoring going on," said Daniel K. Tabor, 32, an Inglewood city councilman and one of those five emerging stars. "You see the interaction (between the current leadership and ambitious politicians-to-be), but not the mentoring....You kind of have to fight your way in if you are Black and politically inspired."

Others say the Black community traditionally shies away from young candidates. "People say to me that at 36, 'you're too young' to be on the council," said Denise Fairchild, a Los Angeles urban planner who unsuccessfully sought election to a city council seat there recently. "But look at Zev Yaroslavsky. He's 37 and has been on the council for 10 years. Michael Woo is in his early to mid 30s. Gloria Molina is in her mid 30s."

Others are hard-pressed to name many young stars. "Right now, there are not many bright spots," said Melanie Lomax, an attorney with the Los Angeles branch of People United to Save Humanity (PUSH), a community organization.

Generally, though, those interviewed said that the following people seem to have the talents and desires needed to move ahead when the Tom Bradleys and Willie Browns are no longer at the helm:

Daniel K. Tabor — Now in his second term as an Inglewood city councilman, Tabor has impressed many Blacks inside and outside his own community. At 32, he is in his sixth year on the council and one day could challenge the area's Assembly representative — Democrat Curtis Tucker.

Politics came early on to Tabor who's mother was a volunteer for Democratic candidates and operated a local headquarters for John F. Kennedy's 1960 presidential campaign. Being a frequent visitor to that office, Tabor met many of the up-and-comers of that era: Tom Bradley, who went on to become Los Angeles' mayor; Yvonne W. Brathwaite (now Yvonne Brathwaite Burke), who served in the Assembly, Congress and on the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors; and Diane Watson, who served on the Los Angeles school board and now is a state senator from Los Angeles.

Tabor won his first council seat by defeating an incumbent Black officeholder and says that is the tack many young Blacks must take now. "The reality in most Black districts in the West is if young Blacks want to get involved, they are more likely going to have to run against a sitting Black politician."

Wilson Riles, Jr. — Name identification should be no problem for Riles, whose father of the same name was state superintendent of public instruction from 1971 to 1982.

Riles, 40, has been an Oakland city councilman since 1979 and now is in the midst of a reelection campaign. He challenged incumbent Mayor Lionel Wilson a couple of years ago but fell far short, garnering 40 percent of the vote to Wilson's 59 percent.

Riles was the Reverend Jesse Jackson's Oakland-

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nomenon is occuring around the state: Frustration about politics in the Black community is emerging among young Blacks, particularly those who hold well-paid jobs in the business and in the professions. Many feel that some long-established Black politicians are no longer responsive to the concerns of the community.

To some degree, this disillusionment has been spurred by festering ailments that hit the Black community especially hard — such as drug abuse, teenage pregnancy, low educational scores and the like.

Since Los Angeles is a microcosm of the debate over coalitions and how Blacks should approach them, so is it the center of a growing sense of frustration among young Black professionals and others interested in entering politics. For the most part, the disillusionment is directed at established Black politicians who some feel are no longer responsive to the concerns of the Black community.

Young Blacks, said Inglewood Councilman Tabor, 32, "are being told to wait while the problems that plague the Black community are continuing to increase....At some point, young Black aspirants and the community have to ask themselves if it is time for a change in leadership, if it is time for a new agenda."

There is another element to the disillusionment as well, said Assembly Speaker Willie Brown. "There's a number of young Blacks who have suddenly discovered that the institution of racism is still there," he said. Many Black MBA's, for instance, are finding racism still blocks their climb up the career ladder.

"So all of a sudden, all of these young Blacks, fully credentialed, are being treated as if they are bus drivers and postal workers, not unlike what their moms and dads were," Brown explained. "Let me tell you, that makes a Christian out of you fairly quickly. And that's what has oc-

e future

area coordinator in 1984 and plans to do the same job next year, assuming Jackson runs. He also is considering another run at Mayor Wilson in 1989, although he has not made a definite decision as yet.

Grantland Johnson — Winning in a district that is not predominantly Black is not an easy task for a Black candidate. But Johnson has done it twice: He was elected to the Sacramento City Council in 1983 from a district that was slightly more than 20 percent Black, and last year he won a seat on the Sacramento County Board of Supervisors in a district that was only 8 percent Black.

His strategy is to base his campaigns around working class people of all races and to dismiss the notion that white voters will not support Black candidates. "Clearly you don't deny the fact that you're Black," said Johnson, 38. "But that doesn't become the sole basis (of the campaign) ... You must have the ability to go to people who are similarly situated economically and socially and who live in the same neighborhoods, and have the ability to say to them that I can represent you better."

Mark Ridley-Thomas — Well known to the Los Angeles Black community, Ridley-Thomas made a rare challenge to a sitting Black politician by challenging Los Angeles school board member Rita Walters. Ridley-Thomas, with the support of Los Angeles teachers' groups, mounted a strong campaign against Walters, but was unsuccessful, winning only 21 percent of the vote to 69 percent for the incumbent. Although unsuccessful, his challenge may have set the pattern for future competition between competing political elements in the Black community.

Ridley-Thomas, 32, is executive director of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference/LA, the local arm of the national group founded by the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and also is the co-chairman of the Black Leadership Coalition on Education.

A native of Los Angeles, Ridley-Thomas' challenge to Walters was a symbol of the growing strength of young politically-aware Blacks. His challenge also was a reminder that young Blacks are dissatisfied with the leadership provided by some long-time, incumbent Black politicians.

Richard Patterson — Although he is from Modesto, not normally known as a springboard for political careers, Patterson is nonetheless thought of as bright star among young Black leaders. A councilman in the Central Valley city since 1981, Patterson won reelection two years ago to an at-large council seat with more votes than any other candidate.

Among the second tier of young Black political stars are: Lois Hale, chief deputy assistant in the Los Angeles district office of Senator Diane Watson; Laura Murphy Minor, who heads the Los Angeles office of Assembly Speaker Brown; and Richard Douglas, a Republican and former assistant deputy secretary at the Department of Agriculture and now a vice president at Sun-Diamond Growers of California.

In addition, there are William Jones, former assistant to San Diego County Supervisor Leon Williams and now a San Diego city councilman; Kermin Maddox, an aide to Tom Bradley; Osby Davis, a Solano County supervisor; and Bill Allen, a government professor at Claremont's Harvey Mudd College and an unsuccessful candidate for the Republican U.S. Senate nomination last year.

— Herbert A. Sample

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curred."

One of the signs of this growing dissatisfaction is the recent Los Angeles school board campaign between Rita Walters, 56, and Mark Ridley-Thomas, 32.

Although Walters held on to her office, winning with 69 percent of the vote, Ridley-Thomas was able to put together a strong campaign supported by the local teachers' union, prominent Black educational, religious and political figures and a significant number of young Blacks. He criticized Walters as inaccessible and unwilling to push an agenda

Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

toward improving the lot of mostly-Black south central Los Angeles schools. Some critics also focused on Walters' alleged uncooperativeness toward an effort to replace the outgoing superintendent with a Black person.

Walters, who was endorsed by Assemblywoman Moore and other prominent Black community leaders, rejected those charges, contending that she had worked toward school reform on issues such as pushing through the controversial "C-average" rule in 1983. The regulation prohibits students with below-average grades from participation in extracurricular activities.

Another example may be Bradley himself. Although he has already announced that he will seek a fifth term in 1989, Bradley's road back to city hall may be substantially rougher than in recent elections. Not only is he saddled with two failed campaigns for governor, a number of younger, ambitious L.A. politicians may be tired of waiting for him to move up or out. Although none of those potential Democratic rivals is Black, the fact that any Democrat is openly contemplating a challenge is but one more example of the waning influence of Bradley's generation of elected Black officials.

Beyond the issues, though, it has been heresy to think that a sitting Black elected officeholder would be faced with a serious challenge by a well-known Black person, young or old. That soon may change.

"There's an increasing level of talent among young, Black adults that is going under-utilized and under-recognized by the traditional power brokers....by the Black ones and the white ones," said Ridley-Thomas. "These young people to whom I refer are sophisticated enough to put together their own operations....They want to be taken seriously."

The same dynamics between younger and older Blacks on display in Los Angeles also is evident in Oakland, said Wilson Riles Jr., a city councilman there and the son of former state Superintendent of Public Instruction Wilson Riles.

The younger Riles, 40, who unsuccessfully challenged Mayor Lionel Wilson, 73, two years ago, said older Blacks generally believe that there should be little public disagreement between Black community leaders on festering community problems. Older Blacks, Riles added, tend to accept the status quo and the old approaches to solving problems.

But younger Blacks want something done now using new techniques, and they are willing to criticize older Black officeholders — and challenge them politically — if that is required, Riles said. "If need be that we have to debate these things publicly and there needs to be a certain amount of contention, then that is how it will be," he said.

Speaker Brown welcomed those sentiments. In fact, he said, they have been a long time in coming.

"First and foremost, I'd welcome young Blacks to do anything. This generation has not shown a great propensity to be heavily involved. With all of the skills, with all of the ability, with all of the resources available to them, they have got to pick up the mantle of leadership and move it to the next level. This business of spending all of their time buying BMWs and Porsches and Mercedes and houses and joining Black ski clubs and all that kind of stuff, doing the YUPPIE type of activities, is a terrible waste.

"So I welcome new Blacks and young Blacks becoming conscious of their heritage and their mission and their responsibility. And if it means kicking Black politicians who currently hold office in the rear end and driving them to be better, that's what should be done."

Lomax, of PUSH, said once-controversial issues like school desegregation have less relevance now. Some of the attention that was focused on those issues must be redirected toward topics that have been largely ignored, such as low school test scores, drug abuse and the economic ills of the Black community, she said.

Maddox concurred. For instance, he said, "I am concerned about South Africa. I really feel for them. But I don't live in Soweto. I don't live in South Africa. I am more concerned about the problems that exist here, in my community."

On the other hand, say some, Black constituents must begin to recognize the influence politics has on their lives, and therefore vote in greater numbers than recent elections indicate.

In 1982 many observers inside and outside the Black community said that a low turnout of Black voters statewide was a major factor in Bradley's razor-thin loss to Deukmejian. Last year the turnout in some Black communities in

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Los Angeles was even less. For example, 62 percent of eligible voters in predominantly Black Watts cast ballots in 1982, according to a *Los Angeles Times* analysis. Last year only 45 percent of the voters in that area turned out.

"I think Blacks as a whole need to be moving toward a greater realization that the system is important," said San Diego County Supervisor Leon Williams, a Black. "A vote of self-interest that promotes one's ability to function in the system is the greatest tool of all."

But the Black community must also begin to realize that their elected representatives cannot do it all — that change should be sought from sources other than solely through the political process. "Now people are starting to understand that government can't solve all the problems," said Assemblyman Harris. Government "is only one tool among many, and if we focus all our eggs on the political process and ignore things like self-help and ignore things like economic development, then we will have been remiss."

Getting more Blacks in California interested in the political process for the most part has been left up to local organizations, or local branches of national groups such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Reverend Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign three years ago revitalized that effort, especially among Black churches, said Riles, who was the Oakland-area coordinator for the campaign.

Efforts at building a viable, statewide group largely have been unsuccessful. Although it was formed 10 years ago, the Black American Political Association of California (BAPAC) has chalked up only a handful of electoral successes, and those mainly involve important, although local, campaigns for school boards and for judgeships.

Huffman, BAPAC's chairwoman, said the group's goals always have been to lobby on items of concern to the Black community and to contribute money to Black candidates around the state. "I think we haven't met our goals because we've never raised the money to do that effectively," Huffman said.

Others, though, stressed that BAPAC has been hampered because it is not independent of Black elected officials. "It is weak, too weak right now," said Sacramento County Supervisor Johnson. "Everybody knows this. It does not have the base or independence it needs....(Black elected officials) should be supportive of it. We can even be involved in it. But we should not head it."

Often times, Johnson explained, Black officeholders are in the ironic position of having attained influential and powerful positions only to be caught between other responsibilities that leave them unable to make the changes the Black community seeks.

For instance, Johnson said, "I understand that Willie Brown's leading constituency is 79 other people (in the Assembly). He has to keep them and, more immediately, the Democratic caucus happy. He can't always do the things that we as Black people like him to do because it may not be in the interest of the majority caucus to do so."

Huffman, manager of government affairs for the California Teachers Association, was the second non-elected official to lead BAPAC when she was elected four years ago. She said that, early on, the group needed a well-known Black politician to attract members.

After they turned the reins over to her, Huffman said, there was a noticeable drop in participation. But, she said, "I think we've hopped that hurdle and we're on our way up now."

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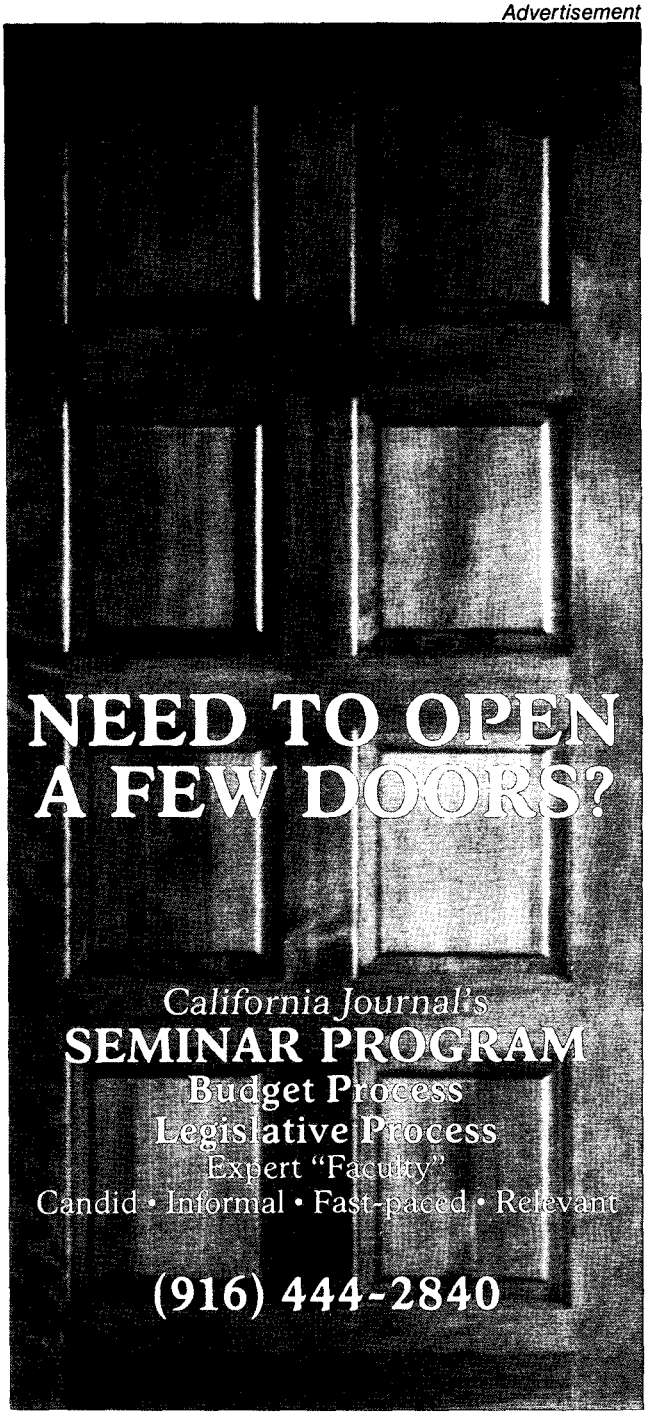

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Searching for the rare Black elephant

By Herbert A. Sample

Yes, Virginia, there really are Black Republicans.

Not many, mind you, but they are around and their numbers are growing, if you believe what they tell you. But if you believe what Black Democrats say, there are only a few out there and they are not of much consequence to the Black community or to politics in those areas.

Being a California Republican who happens to be Black can be a lonely experience. In the hearts of many Black voters there still lies an underlying bewilderment and even hostility toward members of the party of Lincoln. "In the Black community," said Kermin Maddox, a Democrat and aide to Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, "Republicans still strike fear in the heart ... There's this suspicion about the Republican Party."

Gerti B. Thomas, a Black and vice-chairwoman for the state Republican Party's northern region, said, "Minorities have been afraid or ashamed or reluctant to say they are Republicans because they believed that Republicans are for rich, white folks and that's not true."

There are no precise statistics on just how many Blacks are affiliated with the Democratic and Republican parties, although guesses based on exit polls and studies are probably as good a gauge as any. Such research has found that consistently since the 1930s, Blacks overwhelmingly vote for Democrats. Those votes, it can be argued, have provided the margin in many close races in this state and elsewhere.

Consider that Blacks gave Democratic U.S. Senator Alan Cranston an 18-1 edge in his narrow reelection victory over former GOP Congressman Ed Zschau last November, according to a *Los Angeles Times* exit poll. Surprisingly, perhaps, the landslide votes Blacks provided Bradley, a Democrat, in his unsuccessful bid to topple Governor George Deukmejian, a Republican, was a bit less: 11-1. Asians and Latinos also gave the majority of their votes to Bradley and Cranston, but by much smaller margins, the poll found.

Nevertheless, Black Republicans believe that as the Black middle class grows, so will their ranks, swelling with young professionals who are taking on "middle class" values and concerns such as taxes, schools, crime, the economy and the like.

"There is a whole emerging group of young, articulate, well-educated Black people who understand that the Republican Party stands for economic progress and it stands for many of the things that we grew up believing in — family, moral values, a sense of community. This is how I was raised," said Richard Douglas, a former assistant deputy secretary at the U.S. Department of Agriculture and now a vice president of public affairs at Sun-Diamond Growers of California. He said he has been a GOP member since the early 1970s.

There is no doubt about the growth of the Black middle class over recent years. For instance, the 1980 U.S. Census found there were roughly 144,000 Black families making between $20,000 and $50,000. A 1986 survey by the census bureau estimated that the same group had increased to about 223,000 families.

But numbers are not the only signs. In Los Angeles, young Black couples with money to burn continue to move west and north, into areas once considered white Jewish strongholds. In Sacramento's South Natomas suburb, a casual drive can find numerous Black families laying down lawns or otherwise sprucing up their freshly-built and newly-bought tract homes.

The results of a 1986 survey of Black voter trends, prepared by the Joint Center for Political Studies and the Gallup polling organization, found that these younger Blacks are not necessarily stampeding toward the GOP, but they are less strident in calling themselves Democrats. The study found that Blacks under the age of 30 are especially less likely to identify themselves as strong Democrats as are Blacks over the age of 30 — 37 percent for younger Blacks to 50 percent for older Blacks. But the survey published in *The Black Scholar* magazine pointed out that Blacks overwhelmingly continue to identify with the Democratic Party over the GOP, 78 percent to 9 percent.

The irony of all this, Black Republicans point out, is that Blacks were once in lockstep loyalty to the GOP. Republican President Abraham Lincoln had the most to do with

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that, having released Blacks from slavery. And for many Blacks in the late 1800s and early 1900s, the Democratic Party was synonymous with Southern white racism. California's first Black elected official, Frederick Roberts, was a Republican. Roberts held a Los Angeles Assembly seat from 1916 to 1934, losing that year to now-Congressman Augustus Hawkins, a Democrat.

Roberts' defeat coincides with about the time Blacks were beginning to shift allegiances to the Democratic Party. President Franklin D. Roosevelt had launched the New Deal, putting Blacks and whites back to work after the collapse of the U.S. economy. "A lot of Blacks are still voting for him (Roosevelt) and he's been dead for 40 years," Thomas said frustratingly.

While Dwight Eisenhower was president, "The Republican Party blew a golden opportunity to bring Blacks back into the fold," Douglas said, contending that had Eisenhower supported civil rights legislation during his two terms, Republicans would have sent a positive signal to Blacks. Instead, "He chose to sit on his hands."

During the 1960s and 1970s, the candidacies of Republican presidential candidates Richard Nixon and Barry Goldwater and the positions the GOP took on issues of concern to the Black community only heightened the fears of Black voters. The work of Democratic presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson on behalf of civil and voting rights cemented the relationship their party had with Blacks.

It is no wonder, then, that with more than two generations of Black families strongly identifying with Democrats, and with the vast majority of Black elected officials belonging to and trumpeting the Democratic Party, most Black voters remain in the Democratic column.

"It's inertia more than it is a process of political self-examination and judgment," contended Vance Raye, Deukmejian's legal advisor and one of the highest-ranking Blacks in the administration. "There is no reason for Black people not to be Republicans. There is nothing inherent about the Republican philosophy that should be offensive to Black people." Raye and other Black GOP members insist that the Democratic Party holds out little opportunity for young Blacks interested in politics.

Some young Black Democrats agree. "Getting into positions of power in the Democratic Party is close to impossible," said urban planner Denise Fairchild, 36, a Democrat who lost a bid for a Los Angeles City Council seat on April 14th. Republicans, she continued, have programs that find Blacks to run for office, offering "a real viable alternative for young Blacks."

Others still shy away from the GOP. "They don't have credibility," said Valerie Lynn Shaw, 35, a state Democratic Central Committee member. Black Republicans "have not gone out and produced anything. Many Blacks are standoffish, cautious (and) question their motives: Are they for people or are they for making money and maintaining their own economic status?"

That is a perception that must change if Black Republicans are ever to play a larger role in the Black community, said Mary Gray, a senior deputy to Republican Los Angeles County Supervisor Deane Dana.

"We need to involve ourselves in mainstream activities" like local branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and similar community groups, said Gray, who was president of a Young Republican Club at California State University, Long Beach, in the early 1960s. "We should be involved with the homeless and child care and prison reform and every aspect of human needs. When people see us involved in that, they will choose our philosophy and believe that our perspective of government is the right way."

Another perception that has to change, Black Republicans said, is that white GOP governors and presidents are necessarily hostile to Black concerns and do not involve Blacks in their administrations.

Steve Hamilton, Deukmejian's staff liaison with the Black community, said the governor recently held a reception for Black Republicans during February, Black History Month. Deukmejian also signed the South Africa divestment bill last year and has improved the state's economy, improving the economic lot of Blacks as well as of others. And, Hamilton said, Deukmejian has appointed about 214 Blacks to various boards and departments, including Linda H.S. Brewer, director of the Department of Administrative Law, and the late Lou Carter, former director of the Department of Corporations.

So what? say Black Democrats.

On South Africa, "George Deukmejian is clearly a Johnny-come-lately," said Kermin Maddox, contending that Deukmejian had consistently opposed the bill since its first introduction in 1979 and thereafter. He said Deukmejian flip-flopped because of election year politics. "Ray Charles can see through that," said Maddox, an official on Bradley's gubernatorial campaign last year.

Because of an unwillingness on the part of the governor or the Republican Party to trumpet achievements by Blacks in the Deukmejian administration, many in the Black community are unaware of the number of Blacks appointed or their level of responsibility.

"Perhaps that is an area in which some improvement is needed, in terms of informing the Black community of what (Deukmejian) has done," said Peter W. Dauterive, founder and retired president and chief executive officer of Los Angeles-based Founders Savings and Loan.

Said Brewer, who was appointed to her post early in Deukmejian's first term: "Most Black Republicans are very low- key; they work quietly. I guess because we really don't see a need to publicize it. And maybe that's a mistake. In fact, I think that it is a mistake. We should probably do more of that."

What would really help Black Republicans would be the election of one of them to a highly visible position in a well-populated area. Short of that would be a Deukmejian appointment to an important post.

Recently, there were rumors that Celes King, a well-known Black Republican in Los Angeles, is quietly being considered as the successor to Los Angeles County Supervisor Kenneth Hahn, if Hahn were to resign or die in office before his term runs out next year. Hahn, 66, suffered a serious stroke January 11th and since has been confined to a hospital bed for much of the time.

While King, 63, said he hopes Hahn returns to work, he said he would accept the appointment if given. It would be an important boost, many Black Republicans said, if King or another Black GOP member were named to one of the most powerful posts in a county that has the largest population in the state. The appointment would give the person the advantage of running as an incumbent.

But the odds are against a Black Republican holding on to the seat. Registered Democrats outnumber Republicans about 5-1, and the appointee surely would face strong opposition from well-known Black Democrats.

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Can a speaker make policy and still hold power?

By Sherry Bebitch Jeffe

The young legislator sat at his desk, musing. He had won election to the California Assembly during the bruising speakership war of 1979-80. He learned early what a politician goes through to become Assembly speaker. Seven years later he reflected, "When I first came up here, I thought it would be fun to be speaker. And I watched Willie, who is essentially a baby-sitter for 79 egomaniacs. And I said, 'I wouldn't want to do that.'" That is a sad commentary on the status and nature of legislative leadership in California.

Babysitting — servicing the members — has always been an important part of the job of being speaker of the California Assembly. Giving members what they want — be it nicely reapportioned districts, as Jesse Unruh offered incumbents; or concessions on rules, staff and budget, as Willie Brown offered Republicans — is how speakers get elected. Keeping members happy is how speakers stay elected. And to be a great speaker, first you have to get elected and stay elected.

Anyone who criticizes a speaker for working to maintain the majority that elected him simply does not understand the nature of the office. What are fair game for criticism are electoral tools that must be used today to retain that majority — the first of which is money. What is also fair game for criticism is what use a speaker makes of the power that comes with the office.

What the public — and the media — expect of leaders is that they pursue a policy agenda, that they make use of the power of their office to give direction to government. But in discussing a world-wide political leadership vacuum, author Thomas L. Friedman observed, "We live in an era in which the visionary nation-builders have been replaced by the nation-maintainers and technocrats."

Does that hold true for leadership in California, too? Have visionaries been replaced by "fixers" — mechanics? Research into the styles of leadership of the speakers of the

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modern California Assembly (from Jesse Unruh to Willie Brown) indicates that if "state-builders" ever were legislative leaders, they've been replaced by technocrats — administrators — whose major jobs are to keep their party in the legislative majority and to keep the legislative majority happy and electorally secure. And that doesn't leave much time for policy, even if the speaker is so inclined.

The Study of State Legislative Leadership at USC's Institute of Politics and Government identified two broad categories of leadership style. They shed some light on how a speaker perceives his job and how he performs it.

The administrative speaker concentrates on the "housekeeping" and managerial functions of the speakership, including servicing members and, with increasing priority, performing the electoral duties of the speakership: raising and doling out campaign funds; and supplying campaign assistance and technology to hand-picked candidates to maintain the party's legislative majority. The administrative speaker's goals tend to be short-term, related more to a desire to keep the office of speaker than to use it as a "bully pulpit" to define policy.

The programmatic speaker tends to focus on issues,

Monagan

Unruh

policy initiation and oversight duties. He has long-range goals, a legislative agenda and a concern with the larger social situation. He does more than run the house and oversee the election of a majority to keep him in office. He makes policy.

In California, every speaker must be, at minimum, an administrative speaker. That role is crucial to maintaining office. It is dangerous for a speaker to desert that role, or to look like he's deserting it as Leo McCarthy and Bob Moretti both discovered when they moved toward higher office. But not many speakers move beyond that role and exercise programmatic leadership. Unruh did. So, in varying degrees, did Moretti and McCarthy. Each speaker needed a policy record to tout when he ran for higher office.

Among the modern speakers, Democrat Willie Brown and Republican Bob Monagan ranked highest in administrative leadership, according to the institute's study. Those skills had a lot to do with how they came to office. Brown began as a coalition speaker, elected with more Republican than Democratic votes, and Monagan was elected speaker by a bare majority of 41 on a straight party-line vote. After their elections, both men had to tread lightly in exercising power while solidifying their hold on the office of speaker by servicing the members and performing housekeeping functions. That experience affects the way a speaker leads.

Monagan lost his office two years after winning it, so there was little chance to exert strong policy leadership. Willie Brown, in his second election as speaker, was luckier. The opportunity to take control and direct the policy agenda of the house was there. But was it seized?

One Republican assemblyman thinks not. "Willie," he says, "is definitely an administrative speaker. I would say he's probably the prototype of it...Willie Brown wants to make sure the members are happy, that they have adequate office space, and it doesn't matter what their work product is, he wants to be viewed as somebody that took care of it."

Assembly Republican leader Pat Nolan feels that "(w)hen you become a programmatic speaker...there are (going to be) times when you could keep the members happier (by) not doing anything. And you therefore pay a price as far as happiness...of the members" is concerned. Brown, he believes, has "made a conscious decision that he'll do nothing to interfere with the happiness or contentment of the members."

Brown himself seemed to confirm this view during a 1986 interview with *California Journal*. Asked how he would like to be remembered once he leaves office, Brown replied, "I'd like to be remembered by every member who served with me, both in my capacity as a member of the Assembly and as their speaker. I'd like to frankly be thought of positively by all of those guys and women. I'd want them forever to have me and want me as a friend." (See "An interview with Willie Brown," *CJ*, January 1986.)

To keep his Democratic members happy and in office, Brown has raised money to an incomparable degree. Any speaker must do that before he or she can begin to exercise policy leadership. If a speaker has any hope of moving legislative agenda, the house must be running smoothly with enough happy members to carry out the speaker's will. But a speaker does not have to go beyond that role, and some observers question whether Willie Brown has gone — or will ever go — beyond being what Republican Assemblyman Stan Statham described as "California's most powerful baby sitter."

The speaker himself takes exception to his characterization as a purely administrative speaker. Brown insists, "...the speakership is not a single dimension position. And any person who occupies it and operates (it) only as a single dimension...position will find himself not being able to survive as long as I have survived."

What the public expects of leaders . . . is that they use the power of their office to give direction to government.

Other legislators and Sacramento observers prefer different labels to describe the Brown speakership. Former staffer Bill Hauck, who served under all five modern speakers, labels Brown a "political speaker." By that, says Hauck, "I mean that the speaker first has to pay close attention to the reelection of his members and the maintenance of the majority. Second, he's got to be a spokesman for the majority and an assist to the people who are taking the lead in certain areas, to try to publicly push things that otherwise aren't going to go anywhere."

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Brown, he argues, doesn't have the same opportunity to be a programmatic leader that earlier speakers had because "he hasn't had any resources to be programmatic with, and for the last four years he's had a Republican governor who...knows what he is willing to spend money on and what he's not willing to spend money on..."

And it is a political axiom that it is easier to be a programmatic leader — to develop, sell and implement new legislative programs — when public money is available to finance them. Research shows a strong correlation between California's economic resources — particularly revenue levels — and programmatic speakerships. Willie Brown's economic hands are tied — by the conservative political climate, the fallout from Proposition 13 and the Gann limits — in a way that did not hamper his predecessors.

If the climate, and perhaps Brown's own predispositions, make major policy initiatives by the speaker unlikely, Brown is universally given credit for creating a climate where others can pursue their individual policy agendas.

Assemblyman Richard Katz views Brown as a "facilitator. Willie loves this place. And he loves making it run. And more than anything else he loves to make it run well."

Republicans and Democrats alike agree that Willie Brown, by playing the role of legislative broker, provides a setting in which policy is made. As Pat Nolan explains it, Brown's "clearing away the underbrush of all that petty bickering did a lot to allow real policies to come to the fore. He cleared a path...cleared the weeds out of the garden that really allowed the substantive things to grow."

In his interviews for the legislative leadership study, the speaker described his role as "an honest broker in the legislative process...the arbiter of disputes between special interest organizations." That, he says, "is the role of the speaker."

Whether this constitues policy leadership depends on what you broker and with whom. Does the speaker broker substantive legislation in exchange for campaign support? Or is he indeed brokering an honest compromise between two competing points of view to bring about effective public policy? Are negotiations undertaken with narrow special interests over specific deals or with legislative colleagues who open the debate to varied groups? In the California Assembly, the answers to those questions simply aren't clear.

"Brokering" and "negotiation" are the jobs of the Legislature. "Compromise" is what we elect legislators to do — how laws get passed. But in California the terms have been perverted by the perception (if not the reality) that "brokering" means bargaining toward a monetary *quid pro quo* with special interests, while "compromise" means negotiating almost contractual obligations that are incurred by the speaker in return for campaign contributions.

From the outside, it looks like the speaker has given up policy issues to his members and is content to play the role of broker and deal maker, despite the signals one can read into the appointment of policy-oriented Tom Hannigan as majority leader.

Highlighting the broker and baby-sitting roles has led to a public perception that Willie Brown is simply not a programmatic leader. Brown disagrees. "Medi-Cal reform, for example," he says, "didn't come from what you would consider to be a supply-sergeant, administrative operation. It came from the guts of real deep, substantive commitment to solving the problem and producing quality health care for people who can't afford it...That's exactly how that came about."

McCarthy

Brown

And last session, with his Democratic base holding firm, the speaker won some legislative victories in tough policy areas such as South African divestiture, seat-belt regulation, and the unitary tax. Brown was attacked in some quarters for a perceived lack of visibility and up-front leadership on the divestiture issue. According to Assemblywoman Maxine Waters, author of the divestment package and close ally of the speaker, that is "not an accurate perception...it was Maxine Waters and Willie Brown...Willie Brown actually constructed a committee outside of Finance, Insurance and Commerce...(It was) his idea to create the new Committee on Public Investments and Bonded Indebtedness and to put the bill into that committee to insure that it got out and to the floor." That is the kind of leadership only a speaker can exert.

The mandatory seat-belt law does not project the kind of moral issue that the public connects with political leadership; rather it has been framed as a classic struggle between special interests. Yet Brown's leadership on this issue was visible and aggressive.

Was it because there was a fertile field of campaign contributions for the speaker and other legislators to sow from the major antagonists — the insurance companies and auto manufacturers? Some critics say "yes"; the specter of trading votes for dollars looms large over economic issues in this Legislature.

The speaker says not. According to Brown, "I had no need to be the author of the seat-belt bill. But the consensus was that the auto manufacturers were so strong, that John Foran, the chairman of the Senate Transportation Committee, was so dominant — and had been so dominant in the previous years — that it had to be the individual prestige of Willie Brown versus all of these elements to produce that final result."

Things in Sacramento may not be as bad as some Cassandras might have us believe. There has been policy movement in areas such as Medi-Cal, school reform, apartheid and taxation. Brown has led the Assembly into the computer age, streamlining house management and efficiency.

On the other hand, the conviction of former Democratic Assemblyman Bruce Young for federal mail fraud may not be an isolated case of political corruption. Young may have done business the way business is done — by buying and selling influence and legislation. And leadership — in any organization — does set the tone for the way business gets done.

For Brown to free himself from ethical questions that inevitably arise under such a system, the system of financing political campaigns must be changed. It is on this issue

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that Willie Brown's programmatic leadership must be proven and, thus far, success has eluded him. Neither Brown nor any of his successors as speaker will be able to exert — or be perceived as exerting — programmatic leadership unless the problems caused by campaign financing, and the public perception of a "policy gridlock" caused by it, are solved. As Jesse Unruh put it recently, "In order to be perceived as a programmatic speaker, (Brown) needs to drastically cut down on the impact of money in politics."

Willie Brown says he understands this. He told the leadership study, "I kind of dedicated my speakership to ultimately introducing public financing of campaigns. I really think that when I leave the speakership, I'd like not to have anyone else follow me who would have to do any of the things that I did in order to assist my colleagues in getting themselves elected to the Legislature.

"Public financing of campaigns," he went on, "will free us all to do a better job as legislators and will certainly free the speaker from the tyranny of pursuing campaign contributions..."

He insists that he has fought, and will continue to fight, for campaign financing reform. Although last session Brown sprang a watered-down campaign spending-limitation bill from the Elections and Reapportionment Committee by using his power as speaker to alter the committee's membership on the spot, no campaign-reform bill has yet stayed the full legislative course and become law. The bill (AB2180) eventually died when Brown decided not to bring it to a vote on the Assembly floor.

Despite the vaunted powers of the speaker to move policy, Brown now says that for public funding to become reality, a change of gubernatorial leadership is required. According to Brown, "I will run campaign-finance bills every year that I'm here. How I will see it (happen) is when I elect an intelligent, God-fearing governor who happens to be a Democrat and who also appreciates the horrible influence that's developed by special-interest money."

But there are other ways. Perhaps the definition of programmatic legislative leadership requires taking risks, guiding and pushing policy beyond the governor to the initiative process, if necessary, in order to ensure reform. It certainly requires taking risks within the Assembly, something Brown has thus far seemed unwilling to do. Indeed, providing an atmosphere for others to pursue their policy agendas means that others — and not the speaker — take legislative risks.

When campaign money is taken out of the legislative equation, the brokering and compromise which has always been the life blood of the legislative process can be based on policy and ideology, unhampered by special interest contributions. When a stronger, cleaner, more independent Legislature can allow good people to make good policy unencumbered by the public perception (and media interpretation) of corrupt people making corrupted policy, then we can accurately judge whether the speaker is indeed a programmatic leader.

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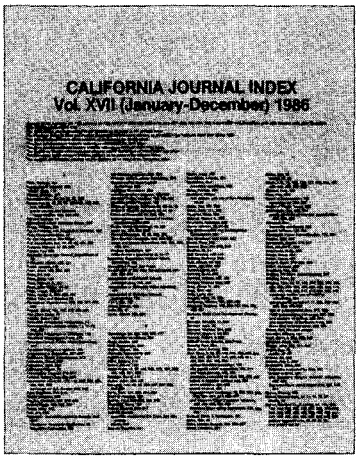

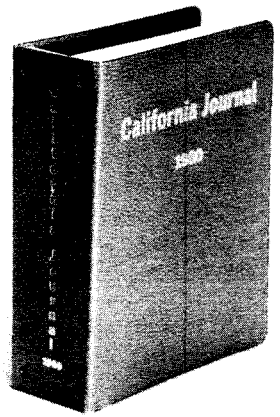

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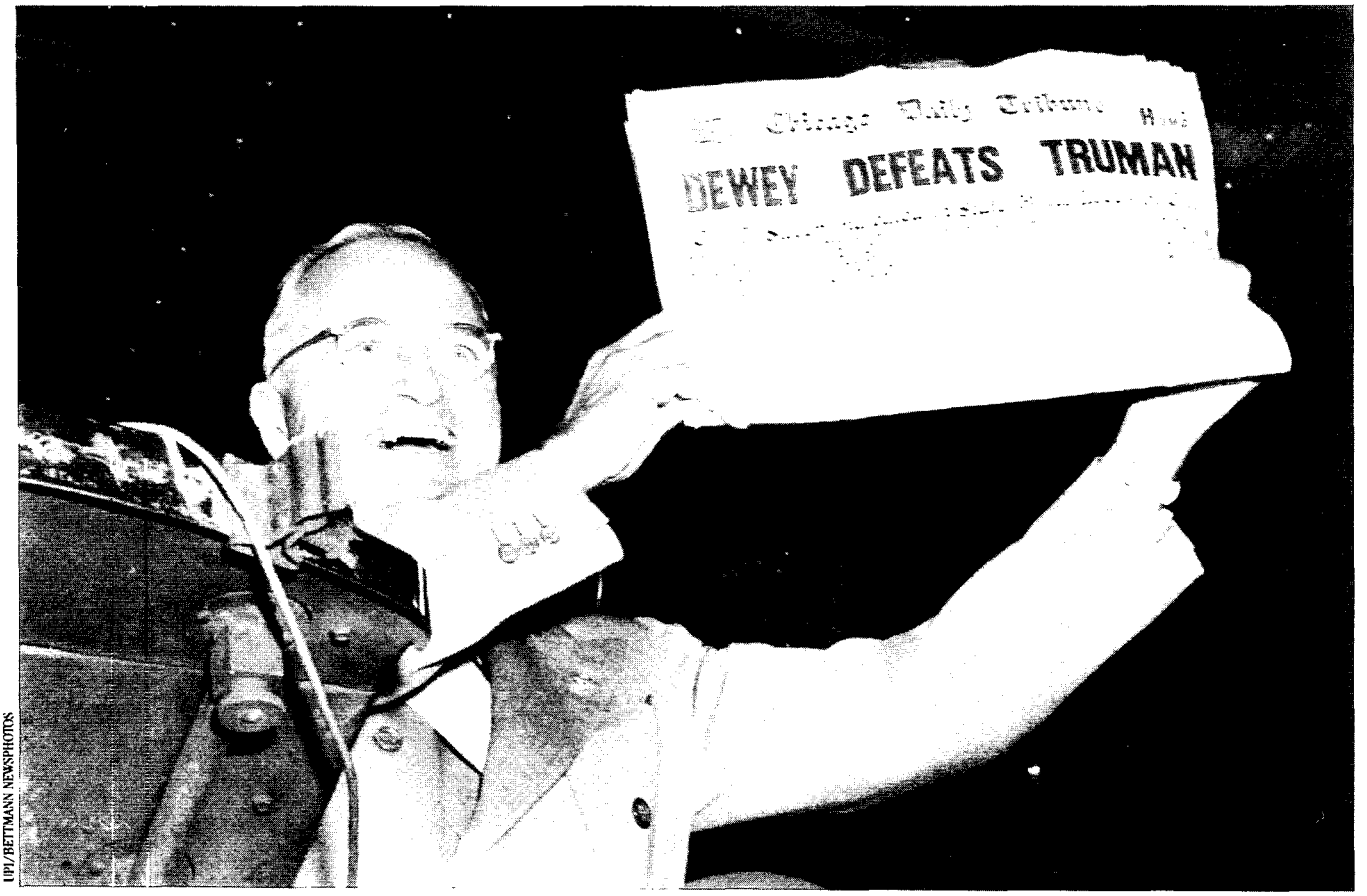

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PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES

Should California cut ahead in line?

By Jeff Raimundo

Next year, for the first time in 20 years, neither major American political party will have an incumbent president up for nomination. It could be one of the most important elections in U.S. history, deciding whether the conservative tide of the Reagan revolution will continue or if the nation's political realignment has run its course.

California voters — in the nation's largest and most influential state — should be romanced as never before by candidates for the first presidency of the 1990s. But some California political figures are being panicked by the capricious chemistry of the political calendar and the electronic age.

With states all around the country moving their primary elections earlier into 1988, the nominee-selection process has become heavily "front-loaded." During a 29-day period next year, from February 8th to March 8th, nearly half the delegates to both the Republican and Democratic national conventions will be selected in a compressed series of political caucuses and primary elections around the country.

Anxious to capture a share of that brief action, at least 26 states plan to make their choices during that first month next year, between the New Hampshire primary February 8th and the 21-state "Super Tuesday" on March 8th.

Yet, it will be another 91 days before California voters participate in the nation's last major primary, selecting the largest bloc of delegates to either of those presidential nominating conventions. As a result, a growing fraternity of state political leaders, particularly Democrats, fear they'll be eating leftovers with the kitchen help if they can't get to the dinner table early enough. In their zeal to get in on the early action, however, they may be squandering the state's longtime role as a pivotal battleground in the presidential sweepstakes.

California Democratic Chairman Peter Kelly says the state law that in 1948 moved the election from May to early June "makes the California Democratic presidential primary

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a basically useless act. The race is over before it gets here."

Independent state Senator Quentin Kopp of San Francisco says "California has been left behind" by other states. In 1980 only about 17 percent of the major party convention delegates were chosen by mid-March, he points out. By the same point in the campaign next year, about 57 percent will be selected, he says.

Assemblyman Jim Costa, a Fresno Democrat, complains that presidential candidates "routinely raise millions of campaign dollars in California, then spend that money in other states with earlier primaries."

Republicans have shown little interest in changing the date of the primary. After flirting briefly with the idea, Governor George Deukmejian has given up plans to run a favorite-son campaign for president in hopes of becoming a major vote-broker at the GOP convention in 1988. But even without that incentive for a late primary, Deukmejian remains cool to any change in the primary for Republicans because he realizes that, in contrast to the Democrats' system of dividing the spoils among the strongest contenders, the GOP's winner-take-all primary in California is much more lucrative for its party's candidates no matter when it's held.

Nevertheless, Kopp, Costa and a number of other state legislators have joined in the stampede to push bills that would move the California primary up from June 7, 1988, to April or even March. If they succeed, however, they could just as well sacrifice the state's chance to play a decisive role, as it has in no less than five of the last seven contested Democratic battles. California could find itself being elbowed for the spotlight by such politically obscure states as Alabama and Montana, rather than providing the pivotal grand finale — all for the sake of avoiding a problem nobody can prove exists yet.

Kopp says that in the selection of presidential nominees, "California has been largely irrelevant for almost two decades."

It is a statement repeated frequently by many California political figures but one that clearly is disputed by history. Certainly, the state's voters haven't been able to hoe through the unweeded field for many years. But only in 1960 and 1976 were California Democrats denied the chance to play a potentially decisive role in the selection of the party's nominee. (In 1964 incumbent President Lyndon Johnson was virtually unopposed.)

As recently as 1984, Colorado Senator Gary Hart's insurgent candidacy against Walter Mondale was battered but still alive going into the California and New Jersey primaries on the same day in June, needing a win in both states to carry the battle to the convention. Hart succeeded in California but was rejected by New Jersey voters, many of them offended by a derogatory comment he had made about their state only days earlier.

"In retrospect, it appears that election could have had a pivotal impact," says Don Foley, an aide to Mondale in 1984 and who now is handling press and strategy for Congressman Richard Gephardt of Missouri — the first formally-announced Democratic presidential candidate for 1988. "The outcome could have been significantly different if Hart had won in both states."

In 1980 Massachusetts Senator Ted Kennedy scored a 300,000-vote upset victory in California in a headline-grabbing attempt to depose Jimmy Carter. The drive ultimately failed but California Democrats voting in the primary helped mortally wound Carter going into the general election.

In 1972 George McGovern sewed up the Democratic nomination with a 43 percent to 38 percent victory over Vice President Hubert Humphrey in California. It was in the floor battle over the seating of the California delegation that Assemblyman Willie Brown of San Francisco became known to America for his angry demand to convention managers: "Give me back my delegation!"

In 1968 Robert Kennedy's California triumph virtually assured him the nomination, a prospect shattered by his election-night assassination during a victory party at a Los Angeles hotel. And in 1956 Estes Kefauver withdrew from the fray after Adlai Stevenson won by a 62 percent to 37 percent landslide in California.

So it really is not a question of whether Californians, particularly Democrats, want to have a pivotal role in the selection of delegates. The real question is, do they want to join at an earlier stage, when the field of candidates is larger?

An earlier primary would force more candidates to expose themselves to California voters because no potential nominee could ignore such a large number of convention delegates, say advocates of a change. And because the process would be compressed, a candidate with only marginal support in the conservative South or the populist Midwest might be able to hold on long enough to test his chances in California.

Others challenge that reasoning. Gephardt aide Foley says, for example, that people "are trying to look at what happened in 1984 and apply that to the circumstances that exist in 1988. People are saying the early primaries will decide the winner earlier. In fact, it could have the opposite effect."

He and others reason that the compressed February and March schedule may not leave time for any candidate to develop momentum, meaning several candidates survive into the later stages. At worst, reasons Foley, "if California remains late in the game, it's really a spin of the wheel. You could play a key role or no role in the process."

Democratic Assemblyman Patrick Johnston of Stockton argues that the state's voters now benefit from a late primary because "after the field is winnowed down, the real final contenders compete in California for the biggest prize at stake." If the campaign is changed to coincide with those in dozens of other states, he argues, the contenders will be so busy running around the country, "you won't have candidates in California, you'll have commercials."

Congressman Tony Coelho of Merced, the third-ranking Democrat in Congress, offers a sort of compromise. He says California does not have to wait until June to remain the decisive final battleground. By moving the primary to, say, late April or early May, California still could be the major prize at the end of the campaign for the strongest candidates for the nomination. Given the large stakes here, any serious candidate would be forced to court California's six million Democratic voters even as they preen for smaller voting blocs in other states. And some foundering candidates might decide to hold on until the California primary — an impossibility now.

Democratic leaders may never get a chance to put their theories about an early primary to a test — at least not in time for next year. Governor Deukmejian has cited the high cost of a change — possibly as high as $30 million, according to Secretary of State March Fong Eu — in opposing an earlier primary. And Democratic Party Chairman Kelly has said that unless Deukmejian changes his mind, it would be futile for the Legislature to change election dates.

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John Vasconcellos:

The Assembly's consistent contradiction

By James Richardson

John Vasconcellos beamed. It was his day. The proud father of the California Commission to Promote Self-esteem and Personal and Social Responsibility had taken a bucket load of guff. First, there was his hometown newspaper, the *San Jose Mercury News*, poking fun at him. Then "Doonesbury's" Gary Trudeau got on his case, satirizing his commission as the latest California phenomenon since the George Hamilton Tanning Open. The morning network television shows took their shots. Now, finally, on March 25, 1987, the commission was holding its maiden meeting, and Vasconcellos gushed. "I'm just sitting here feeling like something wonderful is happening," he told the self-esteem commissioners. "You are Californians. We are Californians and you represent the diversity you are."

To hell with "Doonesbury." To hell with those who tagged him "Mr. Touchy Feely." The self-esteem commission was at long last in business and maybe, just maybe, it might get at the root causes of alcoholism and narcotics and teen pregnancy and all the other social ills the state had so pathetically fumbled with during the years he had been in government."The more radical the enterprise, the more conservative the process," the San Jose Democrat cautioned. "Be credible, be solid and be serious. Playful, but serious."

Vasconcellos is easy to lampoon — too easy — but those who dismiss him as a flake do so at their peril. As chairman of the Assembly Ways and Means Committee, Vasconcellos, 54, wields power in the Assembly perhaps second only to Speaker Willie Brown. With jurisdiction over every bill proposing to spend money — which is almost every bill that matters — the chairman of Ways and Means is injected into nearly every legislative battle, large or small.

Physically imposing, ever-rumpled, often enigmatic, his manner of speaking is better suited to a Marin County encounter group than to politics. "I think if we all had more access to our feelings and to appropriate touching that we'd have much less violence, much less alienation, much less depression in the world," he says. "I think it is sometimes threatening to people who don't appreciate touching and feeling."

He is second in seniority in the Assembly, again only to Brown. He has served under five speakers and with scores of legislators whose names are scarcely remembered today. As Ways and Means chairman, Vasconcellos has put his stamp on each of the last six state budgets. He was a pivotal force in shaping last year's complicated revision of the unitary tax on corporations to the benefit of the high-technology electronics industry in his Santa Clara County district. He sits on policy commissions for higher education. He has entered the George Deukmejian vs. Bill Honig fray with a proposal to raise an extra $1 billion for the state by raising income taxes and lowering sales taxes. It is a proposal that has to be taken seriously because he is making it.

"It's easy to write him off — 'he's spacey,' " said Republican Assemblyman William P. Baker of Danville who serves as vice-chairman of Ways and Means. "I don't take him lightly. I think he has his own ideas and his own agenda and he speaks out forcefully."

Vasconcellos was elected to the Assembly in 1966, a protege of Governor Pat Brown, whom he served as travel secretary. After Vasconcellos toiled in the committee fields for more than a decade, then-Speaker Leo McCarthy appointed him chairman of Ways and Means in 1978. In 1980 Vasconcellos mediated the speakership fight that eventually brought Brown into power — and kept himself in control

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James Richardson is Capitol correspondent for the Riverside Press-Enterprise.

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CHRISTOPHER (WITH APOLOGIES TO GARY TRUDEAU)

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of the most powerful committee in the Assembly.

Vasconcellos has gone through several metamorphoses — from eager early '60s New Frontier idealist to the brink of the disaffected counter culture. He has ended up as the Legislature's advocate of what he calls "humanistic politics." A lifelong bachelor, he often mentions the importance of his "family" — a San Jose couple in their 20s with whom he lives. Raised a devout Roman Catholic, Vasconcellos has substituted humanism as his religion, rewriting the Lord's Prayer: "Our family, who art here and now, let us know our names...Lead us into our own goodness, let us forgive each other."

In 1984, recovering from heart surgery, Vasconcellos penned a letter to his friends asking them to "imagine yourself swimming with me in my arteries, with a tiny brush with warm solvent in each hand." He ended with a little ditty, sung to "Row, Row, Row your Boat": "Now let's swim ourselves up and down my streams/Touch and rub and warm and melt plaque that blocks my streams..."

He has attempted to translate his "humanism" into the political realm. Last year he sent letters to supporters telling them he was starting a "new human politics." The letters spurred talk in political circles that he would run for governor in 1990 — talk he says irritates him, but talk he did little to discourage by foreclosing the possibility of running. "I've got people who are ready to leave their jobs and come work in my campaign. I say I appreciate that, but don't make any plans," Vasconcellos says. "I'm not closed to it, but I'm not doing it."

He says he dislikes the speculation he might run not because some people might consider him a good candidate, but because it tends to cast suspicion on his motives. "There is an expectation in the political world, especially amongst media people, that you are doing things to get somewhere else...When I decide to run for governor I will let everybody know. I'm not mulling it over."

Vasconcellos seems to delight in the unorthodox. He sent shudders through Capitol oldtimers (many of whom had not been there as long as he) when he unveiled the Democrats' budget strategy this year: a "committee of the whole" Assembly session, turning the budget into political theater. "I operate almost instinctively," he says. "I do what I'm doing because I like what I'm doing. I believe it's the appropriate thing, what I feel like."

Vasconcellos' personal agenda — last year dubbed "Toward a Healthier State-California '86"— included the self-esteem commission (the governor signed the bill) and the Human Corps in the University of California (the governor blue-penciled it from the budget). This year's Vasconcellos agenda — again with a title: "California Crossroads-Californians' Choice" — is a comprehensive six-point program targeting prisons, toxic waste, AIDS, education, transportation and the elderly. He urges Californians to impress upon their governor that they want a "decent" state.

"The people elected Deukmejian, they passed the Gann initiative," Vasconcellos explains. "We hope to make clear what is in store for the future. People can say what they want — if they want no schools, no roads, no prisons — it won't be my doing. But if they do want those, if they want those to be adequately available, they are going to have to make some decisions."

To Vasconcellos, the self-esteem commission is part and parcel of that process. He points out its name contains the word "promote" and not "study." He considers the commission only a start in getting at what is ailing society. "Conservatives think that people are basically kind of evil and we've got to lock them up," Vasconcellos says. "Liberals believe they are basically irresponsible and we've got to take care of them. My sense is there is something more.

"I've watched this state spend billions of dollars in trying to solve problems like alcoholism, drug abuse, violence, pregnancy, welfare dependency, with little success. And listening to the practitioners it seems more and more evident that self-esteem, or the absence thereof, is implicated in people's having these continual behavioral shortcomings."

Those who agree with him — on that point, at least — include a surprisingly wide variety of politicians. Assembly Minority Leader Patrick Nolan of Glendale, calling himself a "bleeding heart conservative," signed on as an enthusiastic co-author to the bill creating the self-esteem commission. "I think there is an incredible cost to our society caused by people who grew up with low self-esteem," Nolan said. If the hundreds of applicants for seats on the commission was any indication, a wide swath of California also agrees. Vasconcellos says he got 2000 inquiries about getting on the commission; Nolan, who had two slots to fill, said he has never had so many applicants for a state post.

Vasconcellos may be looking for a mellower California, but mellow he is not. "In fact, he agonizes over a lot of his decisions," Baker said. "He's mercurial in nature. He is emotional in his temperament. He's a challenge."

Beneath Mr. Touchy Feely is a shrewd, clever politician and lawyer who knows how to wield power, holds grudges for months, and can be a bear to his staff. Often gruff, slicingly to the point, Vasconcellos barks his displeasure at witnesses who offend him in committee hearings. During a February 11th hearing on the education budget, for example, Vasconcellos berated a hapless Finance Department official. "I'd like to know from Finance not glossy, pious statements but facts and figures," Vasconcellos huffed from his rostrum. "It's insulting."

There are those who say his greatest test — possibly of his entire career — has come in this year's budget battle. "It's going to be more than that," said Rialto Democratic Assemblyman Jerry Eaves, who serves on Ways and Means. "It's going to be a test more of the whole leadership of Vasconcellos and Willie Brown."

Vasconcellos and the Democratic leadership have complained loudly about Deukmejian's budget proposal — his most ideologically conservative yet — because it eliminates state safety inspections in the workplace and, in their view, is a disaster for medical and educational programs. They have engaged in an increasingly heated dialogue in press releases and media pronouncements with Deukmejian.

"It's a mathematical formula for decline — it's not a theological, liberal, Democratic attack on the governor," Vasconcellos opines. "I'm troubled by his, so far, seeming unwillingness to even acknowledge that and not provide leadership."

Despite the barbs directed at the Republican governor, Vasconcellos enjoys a cordial working relationship with Republicans on his committee. Republican vice-chairman Baker frequently presides over Ways and Means hearings, but refrains from taking advantage of any Vasconcellos absence. "I think screwing John over would not be to anyone's advantage," Baker says. "The times we win is when their members don't show up...We aren't going to take any cheap shots because we have a temporary advantage in the room."

The cornerstone to Vasconcellos' power is not the Republicans, of course, but the relationship he enjoys with

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Speaker Brown. "I love him. He's a dear man," Vasconcellos says of Brown. "There's a very fond, simple bond between us. He trusts me and I trust him. We differ very rarely. If we do, we go to the wall or negotiate it or get on through it."

The trust the two have for each other is evident in public. Soon after the Legislature convened for the year, the two stayed talking in the Assembly aisle long after the day's session adjourned. Brown could be overheard, expletives and all, telling Vasconcellos of his displeasure with the Senate campaign of San Francisco independent Quentin Kopp. Vasconcellos listened patiently.

"I like to believe that we share something he knows he can trust," Vasconcellos says. "I run a clean operation...I run a shrewd operation. I'm careful to serve the public interest and also to be aware of his concerns or situations."

However, earlier this year, Speaker Brown sounded out Vasconcellos about whether he might like to leave his chairmanship and become speaker pro tempore — a position which presides over the floor sessions of the Assembly but with no real inherent power. Brown was not dissatisfied with Vasconcellos but was looking for a new slot for then-Majority Leader Mike Roos of Los Angeles.

"I told him," Vasconcellos said, "where I am, I can have a larger say in policy issues that are of concern to me and to him both."

Vasconcellos remained as chairman and Roos became speaker pro tempore.

Brown has said he is relying heavily on Vasconcellos' judgment in the budget fight. "He's been there longer than white bread and in the process he's become a real expert on the management of the budget," Brown said. "He's the heart and soul of the budget operation." However, Brown has fallen short of endorsing Vasconcellos' proposal for raising income taxes and cutting the sales tax — preferring to let his Ways and Means chairman take the flak — and flak he has taken. Soon after Vasconcellos floated the proposal at a press conference, with Brown looking on from the rear of the room, Deukmejian called it a front for "Bill Honig's assault on the taxpayers."

Some of Vasconcellos' colleagues are unsure whether he is capable of exerting his power effectively, saying he often exerts it erratically. "I think Vasconcellos, at times, has given up opportunities to get more of his programs across because he's assumed people would vote his way naturally," said Assemblyman Bill Leonard, a Redlands Republican who served for several years as vice-chairman of Ways and Means. "He's been reluctant to play a hardball game."

Leonard compared Vasconcellos unfavorably to his predecessor, Dan Boatwright of Concord. Before moving on to the Senate, Boatwright ran the Ways and Means Committee with an iron fist, privately soliciting the views of members and then making his move. "It was much more programmed," Leonard said.

Vasconcellos runs a comparatively free-wheeling ship. "He goes out of his way to ensure people are fully heard," observed Brown.

And heard they are.

Committee hearings under Vasconcellos' gavel often resemble the chaos of a stock-market floor. Lobbyists cut deals in the aisles, committee members shout above the general din, witnesses ricochet from one questioner to the next — all until Vasconcellos' tolerance for the free-for-all comes to an abrupt, crashing halt.

Some point out that it is doubtful whether Vasconcellos could run the committee tightly, even if he wanted to.

Vasconcellos Photo by Rich Pedroncelli

The size of the committee has grown since he took over. With 23 members it is now fully one-fourth of the Assembly. "I think not just Vasconcellos but anybody would have a difficult time, with the 23 members who are there now, running anything with an iron fist," Eaves said. "I don't think it's a reflection of Vasco as it is a reflection of the personalities of the members of the committee."

Speaker Brown argues that a key to Vasconcellos' effectiveness has been his tolerance of divergent points of view: "He gets more general cooperation than those of us who are more autocratic."

There are those who contend Vasconcellos still represents the 1960s in the Legislature. Some veterans remember that he once wore leather-fringed jackets on the Assembly floor. They say he may have shed the jacket but he is still a vestige of a bygone era.

Vasconcellos may have one foot in the 1960s, but the other is placed firmly in the power structure of the 1980s. Sometimes Vasconcellos gives an inkling that he can be in both places, as last year when Republican Assemblywoman Marian LaFollette of Northridge sent a memo to her colleagues suggesting they make role models of themselves by volunteering to take a urine test for narcotics.

Vasconcellos would have none of it. He did not have to, and he let her know in his own unique way by scribbling a note at the bottom of her memo: "I already serve as a fine role model for my constituents. I am caring, compassionate, cooperative, honest, accessible, and a passionate champion of individuality, freedom, dignity — the American ethic! I test by the quality of my personhood and my service — and my constituents have 10 times expressed their approval of me."

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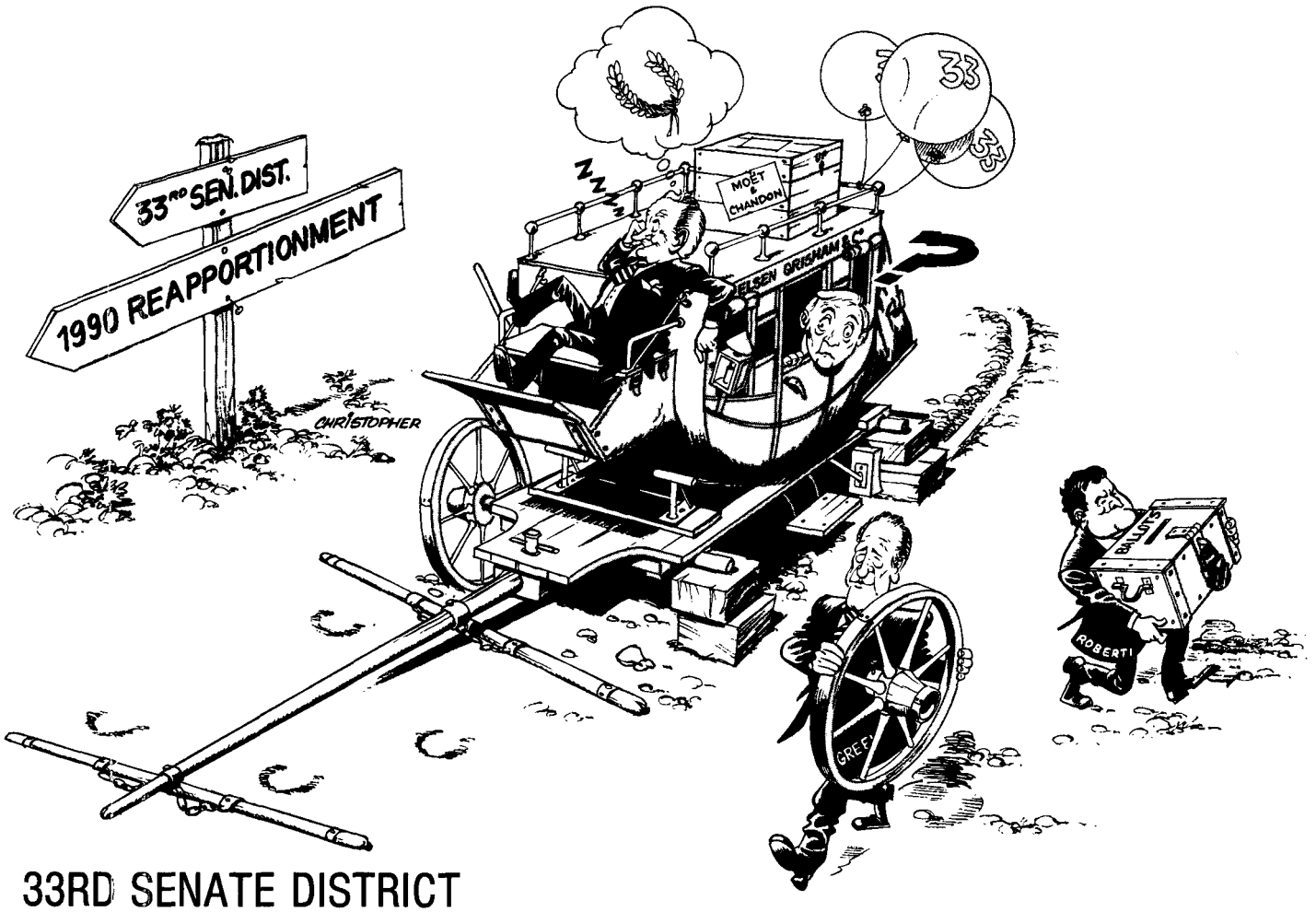

33RD SENATE DISTRICT

The ambush at Primary Pass

By Larry Peterson

To political junkies, the upcoming special election in Southern California's 33rd Senate District has all the earmarks of a barn burner. Control of the upper house and the futures of its leaders could be on the line. To Democratic stalwarts at least, the race is also a test of partisan fortunes in the wake of the Iran-Contras scandal. And to both parties, it's a proving ground for updated campaign tactics. But, to most ordinary voters, it's a non-event.

Seldom has so much been spent to court so few. In all, candidates spent about $1.4 million on campaigns for the March 17th primary. But only 55,000 of the district's 271,000 registered voters — less than 21 percent — cast ballots.

Campaigns for the May 12th runoff — when voters will decide whether to elect Cecil Green, the surprisingly strong Democratic contender, or Norwalk Republican Assemblyman Wayne Grisham — promise to be just as expensive. But there is no guarantee of a larger turnout.

That means every ballot cast will carry more weight than in the 1984 general election, when 70.2 percent of the voters turned out to reelect Democrat Paul Carpenter whose successful race last fall for the state Board of Equalization brought about the current special election. Strategists for Grisham plan to airlift or bus in 1000 or more volunteers from around the state to march GOP loyalists to the ballot boxes. Backers of Green, a Norwalk councilman, are scouring the state for what they hope will be 600 volunteers. "This is the one situation where the volunteer is king," said Ron Rogers, in charge of Grisham's voter turnout drive. "You can send out all the mail you want. But in an election in which people are not used to voting, nothing has the impact of a body standing at your front door."

Although there were eight candidates in the primary, Green, 62, and Grisham, 64, early on lined up the support of all the major blocs in their respective parties. On March 17th, Green garnered 48 percent of the vote, compared to 43.6 percent for Grisham with the remainder going to the other candidates. Among the also-rans were Libertarian and Peace and Freedom candidates who each got only 0.4 percent. Though unable to mount ma-

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Larry Peterson is a political writer for The Register *in Orange County.*

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jor campaigns, they are on the May 12th ballot because, in special elections, the top vote-getters from each party compete in the runoff if no one gets more than 50 percent in the primary.

Three-quarters of the voters in the district — a hodge-podge of predominantly blue-collar suburbs lined by commercial strips and intersected by five freeways — live in Los Angeles County. The rest live in Orange County. Even though few of them seem excited about the race, it has attracted keen interest elsewhere. "Its only

Grisham

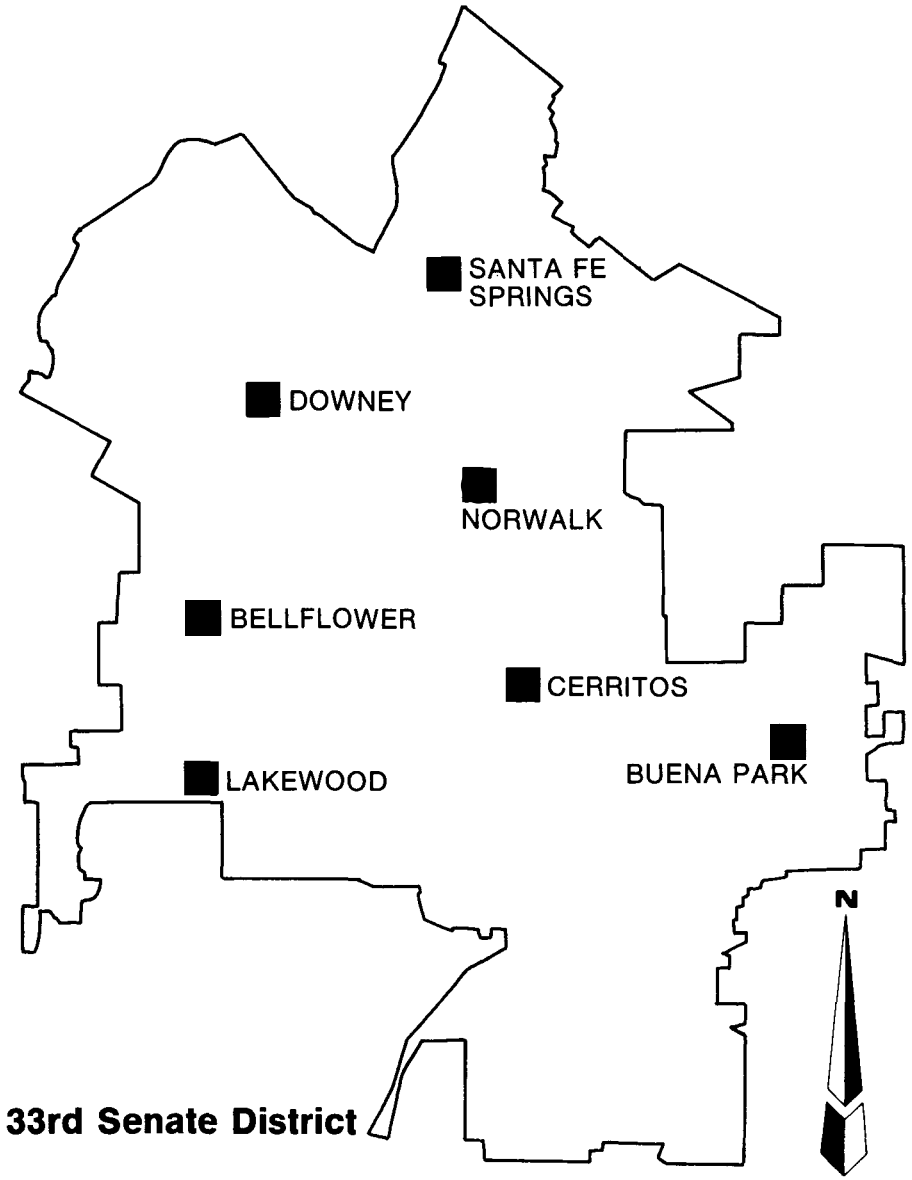
Green

game in town" quality has allowed both parties to attract money, encouragement from big-name politicians and volunteers from all over the state.

Democrats now dominate the Senate 23-15, with one seat held by an independent. Nevertheless, the 33rd District seat is considered a pivotal toehold in an ongoing tug-of-war for control of the upper house and in both parties' schemes to dominate the Legislature in the early 1990s. That is when the party in control will try to redraw legislative and congressional district boundaries to its advantage. Some GOP officials think as many as 10 congressional seats and several in each house of the Legislature could be moved into the Republican column if their party draws the lines.

There is much at stake, too, for the men who lead their respective parties in the Senate. Both Democratic Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti of Hollywood and Republican Minority Leader Jim Nielsen of Woodland face the prospect of revolts by backbenchers that might be held off, if they can win in the 33rd.

The Democrats lead in voter registration in the district, 54 percent to 38 percent, but Carpenter won by only 6 percentage points in 1984 when Democratic registration was higher. Democrats typically turn out in lower percentages than Republicans, especially in special elections, and are less loyal to their party's nominees. So few were



33rd Senate District

surprised that Grisham — who represented most of the district in Congress from 1979 through 1982, is former mayor of a nearby city and began the race much better known than Green — led in early polls.

Grisham, an avowed conservative, ran as a loyal supporter of GOP Governor George Deukmejian, who appeared twice on Grisham's behalf and signed a fund-raising appeal. Green, a 14-year veteran of the Norwalk council, billed himself as moderate-to-conservative and criticized Deukmejian for not spending more on schools and social programs. But discussion of issues was overshadowed by mudslinging. Green supporters, led by Carpenter, claimed — and Grisham vehemently denied — that the legislator fired an aide because she rejected his sexual advances. And, in an attempt to paint Green as a liberal, Grisham's mailings distorted his stands on several issues. In all, Green spent about $800,000 — most of it from sources controlled by Roberti — on the primary election. Grisham spent about $500,000, most of it from GOP-related groups.

GOP forces hoped to win 50 percent of the primary vote and avoid a runoff. Grisham felt confident enough three Saturdays before the primary to spend the afternoon playing golf. Now he's playing catch-up. He has fired Sacramento consultant Tony Marsh and pollster Gary Lawrence of Santa Ana. Marsh was replaced by Steve Presson of Sacramento and Lawrence by V. Lance Tarrance of Houston — Deukmejian's pollster. In addition, Ken Khachigian of San Clemente, who writes key speeches for Reagan and advises Deukmejian, and veteran Reagan political trouble-shooter Stuart Spencer of Newport Beach, are providing informal help.

Green's backers say they're not

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worried about Grisham's new helpers. One, who asked not to be named, said they will blunt criticisms that Green is heavily reliant on Roberti for campaign funds and strategy. "They've all lost races before," Roberti said. "It's like the guard changing at Buckingham Palace. They're all unarmed."

Democratic leaders say Green may have been the first candidate in the country to get political mileage from the Iran-Contras scandal. His campaign targeted the Iran affair in a mailgram, signed by U.S. Senator Alan Cranston, to 27,000 Democratic households just before the election. "You and your neighbors," it read, "can be the first in the nation to vote against a candidate of the Republican Party since it was revealed that Reagan sold arms to Iran." (There actually was a special state election the same day in New Jersey, but the Iran-Contras affair was not an explicit campaign issue.) Jerry Seedberg, Green's campaign director, said the exhortations were focused on areas where voter turnout usually is low. "In areas we mailed it to, turnout was higher than expected and we did very well there," he said.

Grisham backers discounted the impact of that mailer or the idea that the election is a referendum on Iran-gate. But they claim Grisham was hurt by another mailer sent to female voters by Green supporters but disavowed by Green. It trumpeted the sexual-harassment claims of Grisham's fired aide.

But even more important than either mailer, say strategists in both parties, was a quantum leap by the Democrats in what normally is one of their lackluster performance categories: getting out the vote. Said GOP Senator John Seymour of Anaheim who, like Nielsen, has been criticized for Grisham's showing: Green and the Democrats "beat us at our own game."

The Republicans, long adept at herding fellow partisans to the polls, especially in special elections, fielded 1000 volunteers on election day. But the Democrats deployed their 600-person force more effectively. Using hundreds of workers who manned telephone banks and knocked on doors several weeks before the election, the Green campaign identified thousands of likely supporters. Then, on election day, it used fleets of cars and vans to get them to the polls. Armed with cellular phones and sophisticated demographic data, they made election-day pitches aimed at the specific concerns of many voters. Union members, for example, talked to union members, senior citizens to old people and policemen to law enforcement colleagues. To top it off, voters were offered chauffeured round trips to the polls and told they would be back in 15 minutes. In contrast, the GOP used its traditional strategy of repeatedly contacting every registered Republican without identifying those most likely to vote for Grisham.

Assembly Minority Leader Pat Nolan, who also helped Grisham, said the special election was like the Spanish Civil War in that it was a testing ground for tactics in bigger conflicts yet to come. "We are going to have to improve our techniques," he said. "They used space-aged technology and we were still in the horse-and-buggy days."

More political hardball is expected in the closing days. Grisham and Green say they want to stress issues and avoid tar wars. But Cerritos political consultant Randell Economy was skeptical. "Both candidates sometimes have tried to talk issues and nobody paid any attention," he said. "This area has a history of dirty campaigns because — unfortunately — they work. I think the candidate with the sleaziest campaign will win."

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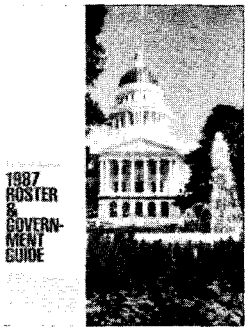

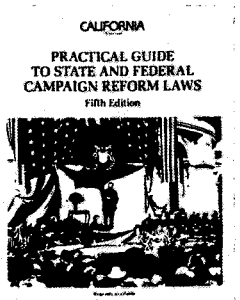

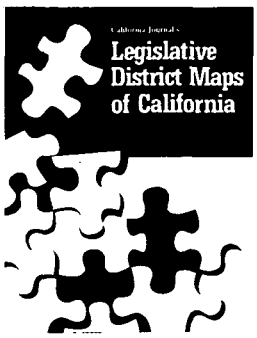

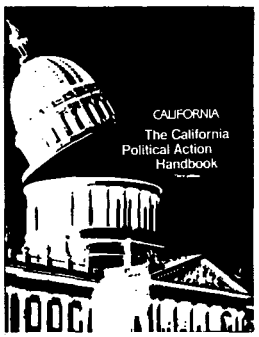

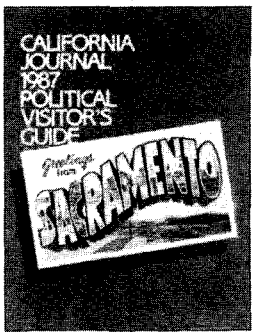

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California Public Administration, 2nd Ed., *by T. Anthony Quinn* and *Ed Salzman.* This guide to the state's bureaucracy contains sections on the impact of Proposition 13, top executives, regulatory agencies, Legislature, judicial system, education and the bureaucracy. The book also contains diagrams showing the legislative process, the court system and the state's administrative agencies. 1982, 8½ x 11, 112 pages. $4.95 paper.

The California Oath Controversy *by David P. Gardner.* The fascinating account of the 1949-1952 loyalty-oath controversy at the University of California, "a nadir in the history of American academic freedom." Hard cover, 329 pages, 1967. List price: $16.50. New discount price: $4.95.

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The Rose Institute

Can the Rose shake its conservative aroma?

By Dan Smith

Alan Heslop lowers the lights in the cramped room, obscuring details from the multi-colored maps that cover the walls but accentuating the bright blue electronic characters on a half dozen computer screens.

"Let me show you some of what we do here," Heslop says, flexing his fingers like a virtuoso as he approaches the keyboard.

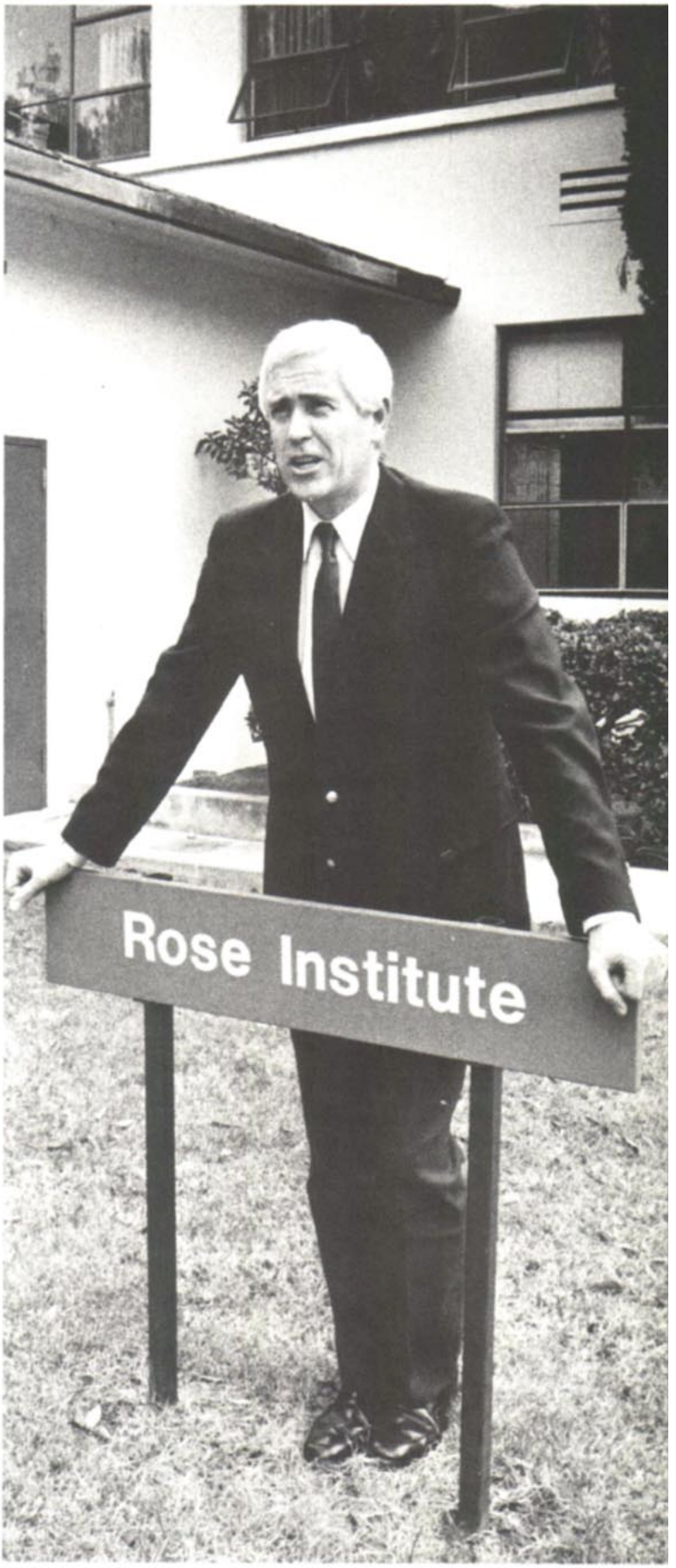
For Heslop, the 49-year-old co-founder and director of The Rose Institute for State and Local Government, showing "what we do here" is becoming a life-long endeavor.

The Rose Institute is one of six research facilities affiliated with Claremont Colleges — a group of five privately-endowed undergraduate schools and one graduate school nestled at the foot of the San Gabriel Mountains, 33 miles inland from Los Angeles.

Designed to offer students and faculty practical experience in real-life public policy decision-making, the research centers have sponsored projects dealing with business ethics, foreign relations, water pollution and property tax-slashing Proposition 13. At the same time, the centers have been freely associated with conservative thought, a connection downplayed by college administrators but fortified by the conservative nature of those who financially support them.

Begun by an endowment from Edessa Rose in 1973, the Rose Institute carries the highest statewide profile of

Dan Smith is a reporter for the Riverside Press-Enterprise.



Heslop

Photo by Greg Crowder

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the group, a posture the institute actively promoted with its visible involvement in the reapportionment battles of the early 1980s. It is now confronting head-on the conservative image it developed then as it finds itself midway between its role in that lost crusade to reform California's redistricting system and an uncertain patrol into the same jungle in 1991.

"I often wake up and wish that redistricting would go away," Heslop sighs. "I've been stuck with it as an issue for far too long."

Nonetheless, Heslop fully expects the Rose will play a role in the 1991 renewal of the most sacred of political rites. In preparation, Heslop has been busy improving the institute's technological capabilities and, perhaps more important, attempting to erase its image as a Republican-controlled electronic bunker, camouflaged by academia, that spits out numbers and words designed only to further the agenda of conservatives.

It is an image fueled in part by Heslop's Republican voter registration card, to which critics have pointed in the past, and by the Rose's reliance on big business financial support in the redistricting battle of 1981. Acknowledging what others believe about the Rose and the mistakes that led to those beliefs, Heslop still angrily insists it's all a misunderstanding.

"The idea that this is somehow a biased Republican hellhole is crazy. I think that we have in the last 10 years not only broadened the character of our (financial) support but also have demonstrated that we are far more than a redistricting center. No one has come back and said all the data was wrong, that all the conclusions were false. All they said is 'You're supported by big business and you're a registered Republican.'"

While California Common Cause Director Walter Zelman maintains, "There's no question that the Rose Institute has a Republican orientation," he concedes the data it provided in 1981 was non-partisan and accurate. But Common Cause turned down an offer to use the institute's computers to produce a "good government" remapping. "We never did it because we were afraid it wouldn't be believed," Zelman said.

Indeed, Bruce Cain, a redistricting competitor at Cal Tech, who recently helped Democrat Richard Alatorre draw Los Angeles City Council district lines, calls the Rose a "competent outfit for collecting data on redistricting" that is not necessarily biased but merely unsuccessful at convincing others of its neutrality.

"They were just not as careful as they should have been in conveying the image of bi-partisanship (and) they made a mistake in not developing a more reputable academic base" before leaping into the redistricting fray, Cain said.

Those are mistakes that Heslop will not repeat.

If the Rose is to be involved in redistricting again, it will likely be without the help of big business. For the 1981 effort, the California Roundtable, a collection of California's business elite, donated $750,000. With the donation of a computer by Hewlett-Packard and sophisticated electronic graphic equipment from Fluor Corporation, the Rose's image as a conservative think-tank hugging big business was cemented.

But business leaders, Heslop says, felt burned after their 1981 odyssey. "They feel burned because legislative leaders made abundantly clear to them that they felt business was trespassing on their turf. They figure that they got into some deep water. I doubt that they want to do that again."

For the record, Roundtable leaders will not speculate about their involvement or lack of it in 1991. But John Parkhurst, vice president for government relations at Pacific Telesis and a Roundtable deputy, observed: "It is probably not something that the Roundtable should be involved with. We have no expertise."

Besides, with the Rose Institute's technology virtually in place (a second computer has been purchased and the ability to produce color graphics added), another redistricting effort could be undertaken without soliciting large grants.

Instead, the Rose is cultivating allies, particularly Latinos, to take the edge off the center's conservative image and to form a more broad-based coalition for the effort to end gerrymandering of legislative and congressional districts.

Latinos, Blacks and Asians will join forces with similarly disenfranchised minority Republicans for the next redistricting round, Heslop predicts. "I'm confident there's going to

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be many more groups involved, much more sophisticated, much more keenly alert to the stakes of the process, much more willing to take a leadership role."

Armando Navarro, liberal founder of the San Bernardino-based Latino rights organization — Congress of United Communities — and a former student under Heslop, calls the Rose "important facilitators for bringing people together." Navarro's Californians for Fair Representation has used Rose computers, without charge, to mock up proposed districts.

While Navarro concedes Rose's overtures to Latinos could involve a degree of self-interest, he believes the hope for a potential alliance to be sincere.

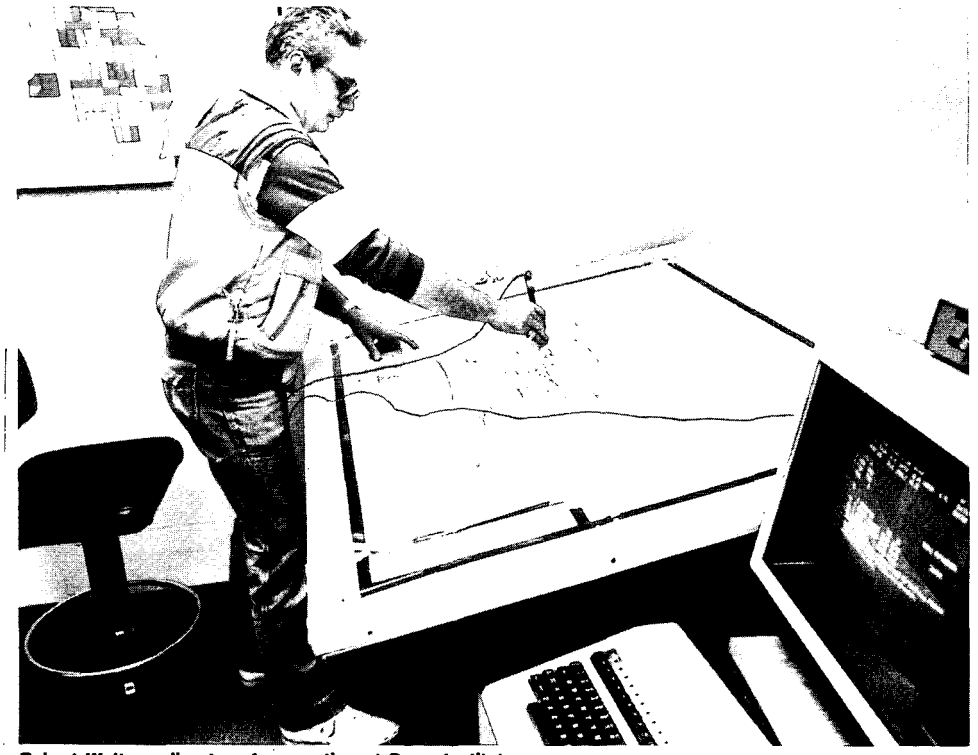
"I'm sure they would like to be perceived as an institute for all, not one flying a Republican banner. It's only good business for them to be more open, more pragmatic. But I think they sincerely realize the emergence and importance of the Chicano community," Navarro said.

Under the direction of another former student, Richard Santillan, the Rose's Latino Studies Program has published a series of studies on the effect of redistricting on the Latino population in several states. A year ago the Ford Foundation made a $35,000 grant to the institute for an atlas of Latino demographics and politics.

The Rose is broadening its non-redistricting activities as well. In 1984 the institute received a $1 million grant from the U.S. Department of Justice to prepare draft model legislation for reform of the juvenile-justice system. In addition, the Rose has created a number of computerized political games. The newest, designed for the National Association of Manufacturers, simulates decision-making situations that confront freshman members of Congress. New proposals at the institute call for computerized simulations of economic decision-making and the process by which the U.S. Constitution was created.

Meanwhile, the institute continues to publish statistical journals culled from its vast data base of California political demographics. For $2500 a year, subscribers to the institute's California Data Base, ranging from the *Los Angeles Times* to Atlantic Richfield Corporation, can tie in to the computer for easy access to the information.

Even if Heslop wants redistricting to go away, he still has difficulty hiding his passion for the decennial task he calls "sleazy" that produces "abusive" results.



Robert Walters, director of computing at Rose Institute Photo by Greg Crowder

He blames the Democrat-controlled Legislature for the bold partisanship it injects into redistricting and the news media for failing to comprehend redistricting issues enough to convey the message of Common Cause and the Rose Institute in 1981. Their message — that district lines should be drawn using non-partisan criteria such as not splitting cities or large concentrations of minorities — is often looked at askance by the state's Democrats. As it turns out, those "good government" guidelines consistently give an electoral advantage to Republican candidates. For Heslop, the results of the November election — all Congressional and legislative incumbents were re-elected — have proven he was right.

"Certainly, no one is going to tell me that I was wrong, because we now have the proof of the pudding. We have exactly the kind of evil result that we predicted. We have spoiled the competitive character of our electoral process. We have the results of abuse of this corrupt process. We have a system where incumbents are no longer properly challenged at election time."

Barring a successful effort at redistricting reform, which Heslop says he believes will be attempted before the 1991 reapportionment, the institute could find itself involved in a lawsuit to overturn the present gerrymandered districts. In an Indiana case, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that a showing of consistent discriminatory vote dilution because of gerrymandered districts could be found unconstitutional.

Heslop said he has spoken to Republican leaders "only in the most general way" about such a challenge, but acknowledged that the institute stands ready to help out. Heslop is proposing to act as a technical expert, integrating the institute's redistricting computer software with a video system so injustices in legislative districts could be shown in living color on televisions in a courtroom. "Justices have been mystified by redistricting," he said.

Although a legal alliance with the Republican Party could appear to support claims that the Rose has a conservative leaning, Heslop sees a natural alliance with any group who is disadvantaged by gerrymandered district lines.

If there is a next time for the Rose Institute to be involved with redistricting, Heslop believes the public awareness the institute heightened six years ago will work to his advantage.

"The aim of the institute project was to shed light, to bring it public attention, and I don't think that we did fail, because we stirred more public interest in redistricting than there had ever been before. I believe this is the single most important problem in California government."

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WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE

By LARRY LIEBERT

Wine whines

The new receptionist in the office of a California member of Congress asked a more experienced aide the identity of a caller.

"OH, HE'S FROM THE WINE INSTITUTE," the congressional insider explained. "Always do everything you can for him." This recently overheard exchange illustrates the special status that a special interest can achieve in Washington through hard work, thoughtful analysis — and truckloads of free wine.

The Wine Institute represents 521, or about 95 percent, of California's wineries. Its members say they sold a total of about $5.5 billion worth of the fermented grape in 1985.

Not many years ago, the Italian immigrants who dominated the California vineyards were rugged, go-it-alone entrepreneurs who had little use for government. "All they want to do to you in Washington is to raise our taxes and put us out of business," they used to tell John De Luca.

De Luca recalls such comments with an appreciative smile.

When the ebullient Joseph Alioto was the wheeling-dealing mayor of San Francisco, De Luca was his top deputy. Now, De Luca is president of the Wine Institute, working with a younger generation of winemakers to watch their interests in Washington (not to mention in Sacramento.)

That's where the truckloads of wine come in. De Luca and the members of the Wine Institute ship tons of the stuff each year as their invaluable contribution to political and charitable dinners all over the country. "It's a cost of doing business," said one top winemaker.

Such largesse tends to produce a warm welcome when the winemakers come to call, as they did a few weeks ago.

Each year, De Luca brings a few dozen winemakers to Washington. Many, like Michael Mondavi and Philip Wente, bear names familiar from the labels of California vintages. Others are corporate types from the conglomerates who have bought into California vineyards over the last decade.

This year's Wine Institute contingent spent two long days in a borrowed meeting room on Capitol Hill as eight senators and 23 House members came to pay homage to them in half-hour shifts. The top lawmakers, including congressional leaders as well as Californians, briefed the winemakers on current issues and heard the visitors' concerns. The congressional speakers were offered a fast and easy $1000 just to walk across the street from their offices and drop by. Some, but not all, accepted the honoraria.

Larry Liebert is Washington correspondent for the San Francisco Chronicle.

The California congressional delegation played host to the winemakers for an evening reception in the magnificent diplomatic rooms at the State Department (although it was the winemakers, of course, who provided the refreshment).

And the press was wined and dined in the most lavish of styles.

The Wine Institute hosted a banquet at the beautifully restored Willard Hotel. The Mediterranean menu featured: roasted garlic in California red wine, angel hair pasta with crayfish, seafood sausage with cucumber spaghetti and aioli, whole wheat brioche with bell peppers, "multigrain wheat jogging bread," golden tomatoes with smoked tuna and mozzarella, grilled swordfish, grilled mullet with leek and peppers in "lavendar dressing" and, finally, a dessert of lemon genoise layered with ricotta and accompanied by raspberry topping with mango and raspberry coulis.

There were five frequently-replenished glasses of wine at every place setting, from a sprightly chardonnay to a hearty pinot noir. It was a display of conspicuous consumption that inevitably undercut all the wholesome talk of wine as a beverage of moderation. "There are many, many wines here today, and this is not the normal recommendation for a light luncheon. The goal is not to drain them all," said Mondavi, although some of the freeloading journalists persisted in the boozy belief that this was precisely the goal.

To provide at least the illusion of substance, a prominent doctor and a husband-and-wife team of writers were brought in to extol the medical virtues of a Mediterranean diet rich in whole grains, dark green vegetables, garlic, some olive oil and, of course, wine.

Of course, the lunch — and the week in Washington — had a not-so-hidden agenda. The winemakers have their own list of concerns in Washington, and De Luca sandwiched in mentions between courses at the splendid repast.

IN A YEAR WHEN CONGRESS is desperately searching for the least painful way to raise new revenues, the winemakers detest the talk of imposing a new "sin tax" on alcohol ("an attack on our lifestyle," De Luca huffed.) At a time when there are national crusades against drunken drivers, the winemakers resent blanket condemnations of moderate imbibers as well as dangerous drunks ("an attack on the inherent integrity of the product we sell," De Luca sniffed.) In an era of truth-in-packaging, the winemakers are resisting proposals for mandatory labeling of wine ingredients ("Wine is not a concoction of ingredients," De Luca said. "It may be appropriate for mayonnaise.")

But few in De Luca's audience pause to consider the subtle implication of these complex legislative issues, most being too busy sipping on the wine institute's most persuasive lobbying tool.

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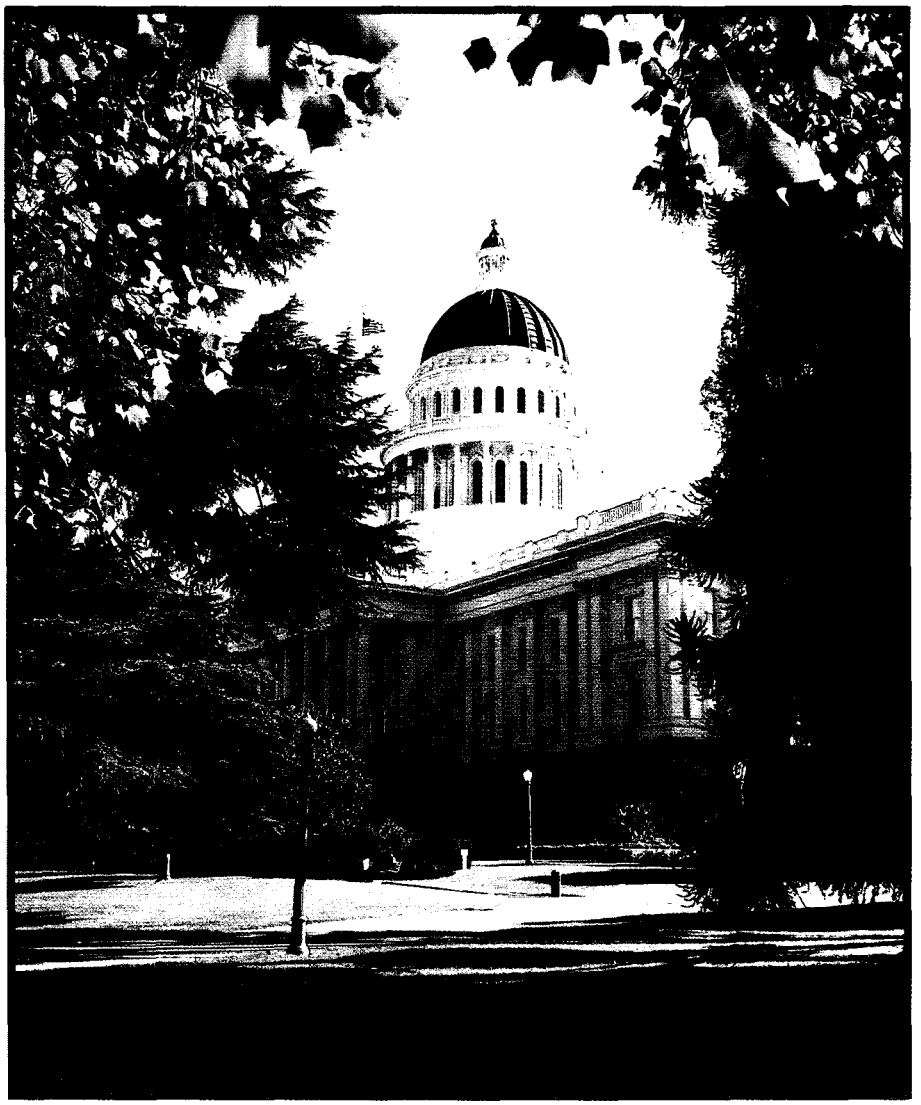
CALIFORNIA'S



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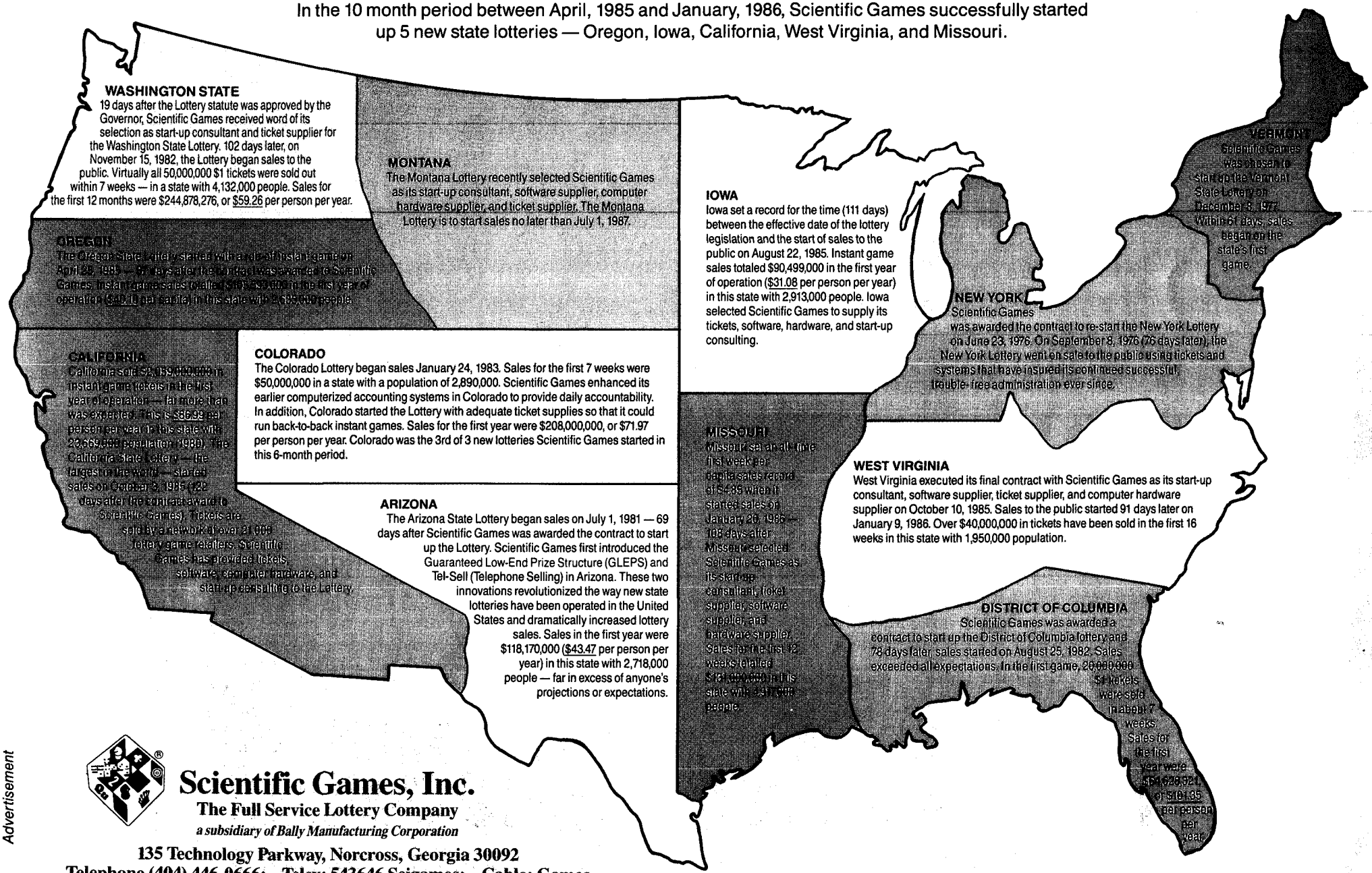
THE START-UP SPECIALISTS

As a result of its recent selection by Montana, Scientific Games has been selected as the start-up consultant and ticket supplier for all 12 new U.S. state lotteries in the past 11 years.

In the 10 month period between April, 1985 and January, 1986, Scientific Games successfully started up 5 new state lotteries — Oregon, Iowa, California, West Virginia, and Missouri.



WASHINGTON STATE
19 days after the Lottery statute was approved by the Governor, Scientific Games received word of its selection as start-up consultant and ticket supplier for the Washington State Lottery. 102 days later, on November 15, 1982, the Lottery began sales to the public. Virtually all 50,000,000 $1 tickets were sold out within 7 weeks — in a state with 4,132,000 people. Sales for the first 12 months were $244,878,276, or $59.26 per person per year.

MONTANA
The Montana Lottery recently selected Scientific Games as its start-up consultant, software supplier, computer hardware supplier, and ticket supplier. The Montana Lottery is to start sales no later than July 1, 1987.

OREGON
The Oregon State Lottery started with sales of instant game on April 26, 1985 — 69 days after the contract was awarded to Scientific Games. Instant game sales totaled $[illegible] in the first year of operation ($40.16 per capita) in this state with 2,633,000 people.

IOWA
Iowa set a record for the time (111 days) between the effective date of the lottery legislation and the start of sales to the public on August 22, 1985. Instant game sales totaled $90,499,000 in the first year of operation ($31.08 per person per year) in this state with 2,913,000 people. Iowa selected Scientific Games to supply its tickets, software, hardware, and start-up consulting.

VERMONT
Scientific Games was chosen to start up the Vermont State Lottery on December 8, 1977. Within 61 days, sales began on the state's first game.

NEW YORK
Scientific Games was awarded the contract to re-start the New York Lottery on June 23, 1976. On September 8, 1976 (76 days later), the New York Lottery went on sale to the public using tickets and systems that have insured its continued successful, trouble-free administration ever since.

CALIFORNIA
California sold $2,059,000,000 in instant game tickets in the first year of operation — far more than was expected. This is $86.99 per person per year in this state with 23,669,000 population (1986). The California State Lottery — the largest in the world — started sales on October 3, 1985 (122 days after the contract award to Scientific Games). Tickets are sold by a network of over 21,000 lottery game retailers. Scientific Games has provided tickets, software, computer hardware, and start-up consulting to the Lottery.

COLORADO
The Colorado Lottery began sales January 24, 1983. Sales for the first 7 weeks were $50,000,000 in a state with a population of 2,890,000. Scientific Games enhanced its earlier computerized accounting systems in Colorado to provide daily accountability. In addition, Colorado started the Lottery with adequate ticket supplies so that it could run back-to-back instant games. Sales for the first year were $208,000,000, or $71.97 per person per year. Colorado was the 3rd of 3 new lotteries Scientific Games started in this 6-month period.

ARIZONA
The Arizona State Lottery began sales on July 1, 1981 — 69 days after Scientific Games was awarded the contract to start up the Lottery. Scientific Games first introduced the Guaranteed Low-End Prize Structure (GLEPS) and Tel-Sell (Telephone Selling) in Arizona. These two innovations revolutionized the way new state lotteries have been operated in the United States and dramatically increased lottery sales. Sales in the first year were $118,170,000 ($43.47 per person per year) in this state with 2,718,000 people — far in excess of anyone's projections or expectations.

MISSOURI
Missouri set an all-time first week per capita sales record of $4.35 when it started sales on January 28, 1986 — 108 days after Missouri selected Scientific Games as its start-up consultant, ticket supplier, software supplier, and hardware supplier. Sales for the first 12 weeks totalled $[illegible] in this state with 4,917,000 people.

WEST VIRGINIA
West Virginia executed its final contract with Scientific Games as its start-up consultant, software supplier, ticket supplier, and computer hardware supplier on October 10, 1985. Sales to the public started 91 days later on January 9, 1986. Over $40,000,000 in tickets have been sold in the first 16 weeks in this state with 1,950,000 population.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
Scientific Games was awarded a contract to start up the District of Columbia lottery and 78 days later, sales started on August 25, 1982. Sales exceeded all expectations. In the first game, 20,000,000 $1 tickets were sold in about 7 weeks. Sales for the first year were $54,628,324 or $101.35 per person per year.

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